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# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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VOLUME XXXVII • 1971

## CONTENTS

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800: Supplement A (4) RUDOLF HIRSCH	3
German MS.32: Eighteenth-Century Ribaldry and Religion ALBERT R. SCHMITT	24
The Beckford Library Sale of 1817 ROBERT J. GEMMETT	37
Theodore Dreiser's Editorial and Free-Lance Writing YOSHINOBU HAKUTANI	70



Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800: Supplement A (5) RUDOLF HIRSCH	91
Béranger de La Tour and Sir John Davies: Two Poets Who Set the Planets Dancing JAMES L. SANDERSON	116
Butler's Use of the <i>Rump</i> in <i>Hudibras</i> WILLIAM C. HORNE	126
A Note on Swift's <i>Meditation upon a Broom-Stick</i> and <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> MAURICE JOHNSON	136
Introductory Lectures in Nineteenth-Century American Chemistry Courses WYNDHAM D. MILES	143
Library Notes	151



# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE

Vol. XXXVII Winter, 1971 No. 1



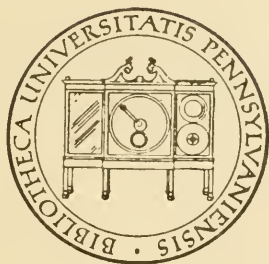
*Friends of the Library*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
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# Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800

## SUPPLEMENT A (4)

Compiled by RUDOLF HIRSCH

### MEDICI-GONDI ARCHIVE II (cont.)

LEA 510.

MEDICI-GONDI, etc. Miscellany, until recently part of a larger bundle (i.e., mss. 497 and 502): 1. Documents largely relating to the MEDICI: Confessio of four members of the Arrigucci family before the bp. of Fiesole (1379; ff.1-2); Spedale di S. Maria [in Trespiano?] (1437, copied in 1467; ff.3-4); Testimonia in causa Bernardi [d'Alamanno] M. (1508; ff.5-8); Divisa de beni between Andrea and Bernardo M. (1515; ff.9-14); Concordia, following an attack by Lorenzo da Castello and his sons on Sancti di Battista Brunaccini (1517; ff. 15-6); Information sent to Carlo Ugucioni (1531; f.17); Carlo di Bernardo M., Contratto (1540; ff.18-9); Attengono a Andrea Bartolacci, bechaio, and Carlo di Bernardo M. (1551; ff.20-1); Contratto between Alamanno and Carlo [di Bernardo] M. (1558; ff.22-5). - 2. GONDI. 38 letters from Emilio and Fabrizio G. to Federigo G. (1578; ff.26-70); Letter from Federigo G. (1628; f.71); Letter from . . . Giacomini to Ginevra (Amadori) G. (1662; ff.72-3). - 3. MEDICI. [Istrumento di donatione] involving Lucretia, Ottavia, Caterina and Francesca di Vincenzo M. (2 copies, or drafts, 1665; ff.74-100). - 4. Ten letters to unidentified person(s), several by Giambattista SANTINI (cavaliere di Malta) addressed to his brother-in-law, others by Silvestro Partiti, Teresa Angelica Gonzaga, etc. (1766-7; ff.101-10). *Various places, 1379-1767.*

110 ff. (incl. a few blank). Various sizes, but largely ca. 28 × 20 cm. Boxed.

LEA 511.

———. Filza XV segnata con la lettera P . . . No. 441. 1. WILLS and related documents (incl. inventories), involving Vieri de Medici (1395 <copy>; ff.2+); Vieri di Cambio M. (1559; ff.7+); Pietro Nerii de Venturis (1551-6; ff.18+, 33+); Lucrezia di Luigi Tosinghi, born Gherardi, Inventory (1617; f.37); Nerio Petri Nerii de Venturis (1565; ff.40, 75); Cosimo di Vieri M. (1574; ff.41+, 73); Alessandra, wife of Vieri M.

(1572; ff.43+); Vieri M., Controversy between Cosimo and Alessandro M. (1573; ff.56+); Lorenzo di Mariotto di Salvestro Gondi, Inventory (1574-89; ff.79+); Girolamo G., Inventory (1631; ff.108+); Girolamo G., Inventory "di scritture" (ca. 1620; ff.110+); Tommaso di Giovanni Francesco M., Inventory (1630; ff.113+); Maddalena Laurentii G., her sister Caterina and brother Jeronimo (1631; ff.127+). — 2. LEGAL and COMMERCIAL DOCUMENTS, involving Francesco and Michele Jacobi de Grifonibus (1562; ff.38+); Alessandro and Pandolfo M. (1571; ff.47+); Alessandra di Rinaldo Pucci and Gerozzo M. (1542; ff.49+); Business papers of Alessandra di Rinaldo, widow of Vieri M. (1571; ff.50+); Piero and Mario Morelli, Andrea de Carionibus (1571; f.101); Antonio Francesco G. and Cosimo [M.?] (1614; f.102); Antonio Francesco Laurentii G. (1594; ff.104+); Angelo Braccesi and Lorenzo G. (1602; ff.106+); Girolamo G. (1631; ff.108+); Piero and Mario Morelli, Procura dei Gondi (16th cent.; ff.102bis, 124); Law suit of Scalandroni family (1642-67; ff.217-343); Lorenzo G., Ricordi (1604-6; ff.348+); Entrate e spese of a Gondi textile enterprise (1604-6; ff.368+). *Florence, etc.* (covering the years 1395-1667), all written during 16th-17th cent.

A few on vellum. 373 ff. (incl. blank). Ca. 30 × 22 cm. Near contemp. vellum (spine marked "LG" and "P," no. 274).

#### LEA 512.

———. Unbound miscellany, primarily letters. 1. FRANCESCO MEDICI, Principe di Fiorenza, later Grand Duke of Tuscany. 29 signed letters to Antonfrancesco Gondi, vicario d'Anghiari, relating to political and legal matters (1565-75; ff.1-58). — 2. DELLA SCALA. Accounts kept by Raffaele Nasi for the della Scala ("firmata da A. Cardinalis Scalorum"), in bad condition but with xerographic copies (1533-9, 1541; ff.59-72). — 3. [PI-RACY]. Hearing on the capture of a ship between France and Portugal, notarized by Egidius Vandenbossche and witnessed by two of the following three: Giovanantonio Bartoli (consul from Florence), Federico Guicciardini and Francesco Lotti (Lat. and Ital., 1574-5; ff.73-86). — 4. FLOR-ENCE. Gabelle delle bestie (1575; ff.87-182, many blank). — 5. BELI-SARIO VINTA. Business letters addressed to Vincenzo Medici and Girolamo Guicciardini, Lorenzo Gondi in Pistoia, and Grand Duke Ferdinand II (1609; ff.183-7). — 6. LEONORA [Eleanora] MEDICI, Principessa and later Duchessa di Mantova. Letters to and by her: *from* Giovanni Medici (1582; ff.188-9); Elena Capello (1582, 1584; ff.196-9); Antonio M. (1581; ff.200-1); Pellegrina Capello (1582; ff.202-3); Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany (1577-83; ff.204-13); Virginia M. (1581; ff.271-2);



to Lorenzo, Costanza Lenzi, Cosimo, and Maria Gherardini Gondi (1582-1609; ff.214-56); see also no. 8 *infra*. - 7. ANNA MEDICI. Letters to her father and mother (Antonfrancesco and Costanza Lenzi Gondi, 1582-3; ff.190-5). - 8. MEDICI letters: a. Cosimo I to comandante d'Arezzo Gondi, and Costanza Lenzi Gondi; b. Cardinale Medici to Leonora M., and Costanza L. G.; c. Grand Duke Francesco to Costanza L. G. (1568-84; ff.257-70). - 9. GONDI. 17th-cent. letters to various members of the Gondi family *from* Leonora Orsina Sforza; Niccolò dell'Antella; Cardinal Retz; Cosimo II; Cardinal Machiavelli; Antonio Magalotti (1616-57; ff.273-323). - 10. Commendatore GALILEI to Altoviti Medici (1654; ff.324-5). - 11. MISCELLANY consisting of 1f. account of the firm of Giraldi [?] (1560, in poor condition, with xerographic copy), and number of supplice to the Grand Duke of Tuscany concerning grain, wine, gabbella, shipping, the towns of Pisa, Livorno, etc. (ca. 1603-9; ff.326-34; see also ms. 489). *Various places, 1533-1657.*

324 ff. (incl. blank). Various sizes. Some seals. Boxed.

*End of Medici section. See also Gondi-Medici, mss. 526-8.*

LEA 513.

GONDI, etc. Filza XVI segnata con la lettera Q . . . No. 458 (partly misbound). 1. Archival documents relating to S. MARIA NOVELLA, beginning with Contratto fra i padri . . . ed i Sig. Aldobrandini (1456-1580 <copy>; ff.1+); Quaderno de beni, involving Carlo di Salvestro Gondi, Salvestro di Mariotto G. e fratelli, Lorenzo G., etc. (1481-93; ff.41+). - 2. WILLS, inventories, accounts, etc.: Lorenzo G. (1547-51; ff.63+); Copie di scritture attenenti alli Sig. Antonio Francesco G. e Bernardo Galilei (1546-9; ff.88+); Alessandro Mainardi, Sopre la valuta de fiorini d'oro, addressed to Ferdinand I, Duke of Tuscany (1552; ff.96+); Vieri di Cambio de Medici (1559; f.101); Lorenzo G. (1572; f.121); Filippo e Lorenzo G. (1577; ff.133+); Piero e Mario de Morelli (1521; f.135); Pietro Francesco Peri de Monti (1610, 1625; ff.136+); Cosimo di Vieri de Medici (1577, ff.140+); Maria Angeli Bruschi de Mugello, wife of Francesco Gaspari (1586, 1592; ff.142+); Antonio Francesco Laurentii Mariotti G., concerning property of S. Maria Novella (1582; f.143); Benedetto, Bernardo e Raffaello di Bartolommeo G. (1583; ff.145+); Paccio e Antonio Francesco G. about a "casa" belonging to S. Maria Nuova (1583-9; ff.147+, 155+); Sentenza concerning Giovanni, Mario and Salvestro G., sons of Lorenzo (1583-5; ff.149+); Vannina G., widow of Ugolino del Monte (1612-24; ff.154, 161); Raffaello di Francesco G. (1595; f.157); Mercanzia

d'Antonio Francesco G. (1583; ff.183 +, 271 +); Contratto di vendita, Giovanni Battista and Antonio Francesco G. (1584; ff.187 +); Giovanni Battista G. (1584; ff.194 +); Fede over property of S. Maria Novella, Lorenzo di Mariotto di Salvestro G. (1631; ff.217 +, 251 +); Antonio Francesco G. (1631; ff.229 +); Vannina G. (1634; ff.233, 238 +); Monte di pietà, Florence (1631; f.232); Nota di compere di Lorenzo G. (ca. 1550; ff.263 +); Antonio Francesco G., Supplica to the Grand Duke of Tuscany [Ferdinand I] (n.d.; f.270); Antonio Francesco G. and l'eredi di Bartolommeo G. (1578; ff.271 +); Diversi conti, concerning Lorenzo G., etc. (n.d.; ff.291 +); Ricordanza . . . per riscontro d'una partita al libro giallo . . . gabelle, vetture del vino, etc., verified by the sindaco di S. Maria Novella (1585; ff.293 +). *Florence, etc.* (covering the years 1456-1634) 16th-17th cent. copies.

358 ff. (incl. blank, ff.2-40 omitted or missing). Ca. 30 × 22 cm. Near contemporary vellum (spine marked "LG" and "Q," no. 275). - In many cases, here and in other bound vols., the text is not consecutive, due to careless assembling for binding.

#### LEA 514.

———. Filza X segnata con la lettera K . . . sotto no. 344. Collection of financial and legal documents (frequently misbound, though consecutively numbered). *A.* Large number dealing with REAL ESTATE transactions of the Gondi family (1523-1650; documents especially between ff.13-22, 70-7, 92-121, 127-58, 169-211, and a cumulative list of beni acquisiti, ff.212-8). Volume begins with vellum document relating to controversy between Jacopo Salviati and the Curia archiepiscopale of Pisa over property of Saletto (1478; ff.1-8), followed by record of sale of property at Monte Tondello to Carlo di Gabriele Medici (1519; f.9) and another vellum document involving Jacopo Salviati and property at Fiesole (1522; ff.10-2, 23-5, *inc.* on f.24r). - *B.* LEGAL DOCUMENTS dealing with arbitration, proxies, debts, releases from parental power (e.g., Elisabetta Lenzi <1556; ff.58-9, 88-9>), agreements, bails. - *C.* WILLS: Francesca olim relicta Alfonsi Nicolai Capponi, figlia d'Antonii Nelli (1553; ff.50-7, vellum and paper); Giovanni Battista Nelli (1559; ff.61-7, 80-6); Piero di Giovanni di Mariotto Gondi (1590; ff.102, 111); Raffaello [di Bartolomeo?] G. (1601; ff.130-1, 154-5); Bartolomea Altoviti, wife of Filippo G. (1601; ff.133-7, 148-52, with codicil, 1611; ff.138-9, 146-7); Codicillo dell'Ill. Lorenzo di Mariotto G., rogato da Michele Girolamo Catani (1682; ff.187-9, 206-7). - Among the Gondi (beyond those already mentioned): Lorenzo di Mariotto; Bernardo [di Carlo?]; Filippo di Lorenzo; Lodovico di Filippo; Antonfrancesco; Cosimo d'Antonfrancesco; Girolamo di Lo-

renzo; Orazio; Ferdinando, Alessandro, and Carlo Antonio; among other families: Casini (ff.14, 21, 30-1, 33, 43, 45-6) and Massi (ff.27, 48). *Various places, 1478-1687.*

Paper and vellum. 225 ff. (incl. blank ff.). Ca. 29.5 × 22 cm. Notarial signets. Contemp. vellum ("GL" and no. 269 on spine).

LEA 515.

GONDI-MACCHIARELLI. Filza LII F 3: Gondi ed altri. Practically the entire volume deals with all legal aspects of controversy between the Gondi and the Macchiarelli, primarily between 1531 and 1536, but including a few earlier and later documents. This main part is preceded by the division of the inheritance of Niccolò di Piero Buonaccorsi (1496; ff.1-18) and the sale of property (Camilla and Giovanni Buonaccorsi, sons of Lorenzo Macchiarelli, Simone Gondi, etc., 1527-9). *Florence, 1496-1666.*

753 ff. (incl. blank). Ca. 29.5 × 23 cm. 18th-cent. bds. (no. 335 on spine), boxed.

LEA 516.

FEDERIGO and ALFONSO GONDI. Libro rosso segnato BB di debitori e creditori di Federigo e Alfonso, fratelli e figlioli di Giuliano de Leonardo Gondi, per conto della loro bottega del battiloro. Covers the years 1506-8, 1513, 1518-37. *Florence, 1506-37.*

1, 83, 4 blank ff. 40 × 28.5 cm. Cloth.

LEA 517.

GONDI, etc. 1. Documents concerning HEIRS OF GIULIANO (1510; ff.1-4) and Leonardo (1510; f.5). - 2. AGOSTINO SPINOLA to ANTONFRANCESCO G., copy and one original (signed Verisius), concerning taxation by Pope Clement VII to fight the Turks (1532-4; ff.6-14). - 3. LORENZO [di Mariotto] G., Antonio de Nobili, Carlo de Medici, and Bernardo de Ricasoli in causa de Nerli (1555; f.15); letters addressed to LORENZO [d'Antonio Francesco] G. (1603-7?; f.16). - 4. Pagamento fatto da BACCIO di Carlo G. (1569; ff.20-1; old nos. 83-4). - 5. GIOVANNA MEDICI to ANTONFRANCESCO G. (1569; ff.22-3). - 6. GINEVRA STROZZI G., Federigo Strozzi, Francesco Sangalietti, etc. to LEONARDO G. (1571-1609; ff.26-40). - 7. Letters to FEDERIGO G., largely by EMILIO G. (1575-1606; ff.41-105); reports to same by Cosimo Setticelli, on business matters and politics (1607; ff.106-

46); letter by Francesco Lapiti; two accounts (1607-26; ff.147-53). - 8. Letters to EMILIO GONDI from various persons, primarily Francesco Lapiti and Zanobi Landi (1594-1609; ff.154-94). - 9. Creditores JACOBI et ALEXANDRI di GIUNTA et socii quondam Antwerpiae [contra] heredes JOANNISBAPTISTAE G. (1603; ff.195-200). - 10. Letter to ORATIO G. (1607; ff.201-2). - 11. Scritta (Ital.) and Contract (Fr., partly on vellum) by, and concerning, FILIPPO G. (Paris, 1607-8; ff.203-12; old nos. [pp.]1345-8 and [ff.]145-52). - 12. Letters to GIULIANO G. (1635-71; ff.213-93). - 13. Letters and receipts for GINEVRA G. (1645-73 [or 9]; ff.294-319). *Various places, 1510-1673* [or 9].

319 ff. Various sizes. Boxed.

#### LEA 518.

CASSANDRA [di Piero Pandolfini] GONDI. Quadernuccio di spese di casa dealing with a variety of purchases, wages, payments involving Giuliano di Bellicozzo Gondi, Simone di Giovanbattista G., and Bellicozzo di Bellicozzo G. *Florence, 1513-25.*

52 ff. (ff.7-8, 10-23, 33-51 blank). 22 × 15 cm. Originally disbound (complete?), bds. - Richordo . . . spesi doppo la morte di Lionardo Gondi mio marito che fu addi 9 d'Aprile 1513, f.24r. This date does not agree with Corbinelli's *Hist. geneal. de la maison de Gondi* (Paris, 1705), v.I, p.ccii, where the date of death of Leonardo is given as 1512.

#### LEA 519.

GONDI, etc. Letters and documents, largely consisting of sections and sheets formerly bound (and partly misbound; see note for original numbering). 1. Letters to GIOVANBATTISTA G. (largely in Fr.; incl. one for ALEXIS G., Augustinian and "diacre du couvent d'Arles," most of these on private and business affairs from the not further identified "cousin De Gondi" (1648-51; ff.1-26); letters from Giovanbattista G. to Grand Duke Ferdinand II (1653-9; ff.27-32, 47-50); expense account (1655-62; ff.33-46). - 2. Collection of Gondi letters and documents, still stitched together, a large number to, and a few by GIOVANBATTISTA G., some of these by the same unidentified cousin, others by Niccolò Larioni, Lorenzo Corsi, M. Fayard at Avignon, etc., others from or to Alessandro G., Ferdinando G., Federigo G.; also incl. Minute di Giovanbattista G. al Sig. Niccolò Larioni (ff.227-54), and to Lorenzo Corsi (ff.255-6, 273-8 (incomplete)); Gondi contra Altoviti (1685; ff.198, 219), etc. (1636-1718;

ff. 51-278). — 3. The remaining items concern Giovanni N. G. (f. 279), Filippo Gondi (spoglie di crediti), a later Giovanbattista G. (1727-9), Ottavia G. [?] and incl. a few documents only tentatively assigned to the Gondi (1520-1746; ff. 279-343). *Various places, 1520-1746.*

343 ff. (incl. blank). Various sizes. Boxed. — *Concordance* of old and new foliation: former 344-69, now ff. 1-26; 47-50, now 27-30; 112-3, now 31-2; 161-2, now 47-8; 199-200, now 49-50; 370-593, now 51-278.

LEA 520.

———. Filza X la quale contiene più e diverse scritture, ricevute, lettere . . . attenente alla casa de Sig. Gondi . . . segnata con la lettera K. 1. SETTE MOTUPROPRII . . . quale attegnan al Sig. . . . Giovanni Battista Gondi più diversi titoli (1636-47; ff. 1-14). — 2. Più e diverse RICEVUTE attenenti alli viaggi fatti a Roma ed a Venezia dal Sig. Giovanni Battista G. (tied through center with string) (1642-4; ff. 15-54). — 3. SCRITTURE, conti, e ricevute attenenti al viaggio dal Sig. Ferdinando Alessandro G. inviato a Parigi per la morte del Sig. Duca d'Alençon (1675-81; ff. 55-76). — 4. Più e diverse LETTERE attenenti ai Sig. Gondi . . . con la religione di S. Stefano per i frutti dell'onorario del baliato del Sig. Balì Giovanni Battista G., loro padre (1694; ff. 77-98). — 5. INFORMAZIONE in causa Gondi et religione di S. Stefano per il baliato di Pienza (bound; 1643-4/5; ff. 99-190). — 6. CONTO DI SPESE di viaggio del . . . Giovanni Battista G. . . alla corte di Francia (1712; 1 f., 28 ff., ff. 191-264). — 7. QUADERNUCCIO di spese fatte dal Sig. Giovanni Battista G. in occasione di andare inviato a Parigi (in vellum cover measuring 20 × 13.5 cm.; 1712; ff. 265-314). — 8. CONTO DI SPESE . . . [idem] (May 1712 - May 1713; ff. 315-42). — 9. CORRISPONDENZA dal Sig. Arrigo Codoni [e altri Codoni] e Balì G., etc. (dall'anno 1647 fino all'anno 1660; ff. 343-558). — 10. INFORMAZIONE fatta dalli Sig. Codoni alli Sig. Giovanni Battista e Federigo G. (1647-53; ff. 559-70). — 11. Mandato di PROCURA in francese, fatto dalla Signora Selvaggia Codoni (1647-8; ff. 571-4; vellum). — 12. Bilancio dell'EREDITÀ del . . . Sig. Giovanni Battista Gondi (1652; ff. 575-6). — 13. DUE MANDATI della madre d'Arrigo Codoni al Sig. Balì Giovanni Battista G. (1648; ff. 577-82). *Various places, 1636-1712.*

4, 582+, 29 [cf. no. 6] ff., partly misbound (incl. blank). Ca. 30.5 × 20 cm. Few seals. 18th-cent. bds. (no. 217 on spine), boxed.



LEA 521.

GINEVERA GONDI (wife of Francesco Amadori). Pagamenti alle Decime alla posta di Genevera Gondi [Amadori], largely signed by Michel Cardinali, camarlingo. *Florence, 1662-85* (date of Ginevera's death).

62 ff. (ff. 1, 25-62 blank); printed form "Pagò alle Decime," 1666, pasted on verso of f. 6. 14 × 10 cm. Contemp. vellum (15th-cent. document; no. 202 on spine), boxed.

LEA 522.

OTTAVIA GONDI. Giornale, entrata et uscita, segnato A . . . del'Il<sup>l</sup>ma Signora Ottavia Gondi . . . spettante all'eredità del'Il<sup>l</sup>mo Signore Cav. Federigo Gondi [suo] padre. Covering three years only, most ff. left blank (i.e., all but ff. 1-10, 97-8, 129-30, 161-3). *Florence, 1692-94*.

192 ff. 34 × 24 cm. Contemp. vellum (nos. 318 and 90 on spine; dates 1690-1694 on front cover).

LEA 523.

CATERINA GONDI. Day-by-day expense account (with monthly totals), compiled by Francesco Padovani spenditore. The name of Caterina Gondi does not appear in the account book, but is deduced from a "lista di robe da provvedersi per il desinare della Caterina nella Quietè," found between ff. 86-7. The account book consists of 1. Spese di vitto (ff. 1-127). - 2. Spese diverse (ff. 128-89, 197-8). - 3. Ricevute (ff. 190-6). *Florence, 1711-13*.

207 (vero 208) ff. (incl. a few blank; error in foliation caused by repetition of f. 143). 38.5 × 13 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 36 in ink <34 on printed label> on spine).

LEA 524.

GIOVANBATTISTA and OTTAVIA GONDI. Correspondence. A. 1. Slip with account, Alamanno di Bernardo Medici (1557; f. 1). - 2. Receipts signed by Johann van der Neesen, AMSTERDAM, for money received from Gasparo Quingietto for Bartolomeo Corsini, Florence (1606-7; ff. 2-6). - B. Deals primarily with business transactions, especially in Paris, many letters with enclosures; added some copies of documents: 3. Letters largely from Jacopano Pennetti (also referred to as Jacques Antoine P.) to GIOVANBATTISTA G. in Florence, Livorno, etc.; one from Nero Corsini (ff. 66-7); incl. a printed Arrest du Conseil d'état du roi pour le remboursement des rentes (1728; ff. 81-2); much of

the information concerns real estate matters (1722 – ca. 1730; ff.7–111, 208). – 4. Letters from J. Pennetti, prêtre Lamy, etc., primarily to OTTAVIA G., widow of Ferdinando Alessandro G., similar in contents to 3, and incl. copy of document on inheritance from Maria Ottavia G. (ff.213–7); towards the end letters to Senator Braccio Maria COMPAGNI (ca. 1730–53; ff.111–260). *Various places*, [1557, 1606–7 –]1722–53.

260 ff. (incl. blank). Various sizes, mostly quarto. Seals. Unbound, boxed.

LEA 525.

———. 1. Nota di tutte le masserizie, mobili [e immobili], biancherie, argenti, e gioie ritrovate nell'eredità del' Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Cav. Giovanni Batista Gaetano Gondi, estratte dall'INVENTARIO solenne fatto dall' . . . Francesco Alamanni come tutore testamentario del' Ill<sup>ma</sup> Signora Maria Ottavia Gondi, unica figlia et erede beneficiaria . . . 1750. Comprehensive, detailed inventory with valuations, lettered A–F, occupying approximately two-thirds of volume. – 2. Stima per S. Casciano (2 ff.) laid in between sections A and B, and further lists of assets or inventories (part 2, ff.11–3, 18–25, 31–3, 40–4, 46–8 and loose ff.56–74), interspersed with relevant official documents (esp. ff.27–30 and 50–5). *Florence, 1750.*

4 blank ff., 84, 17, 28, 22, 32 pp. (excl. 12 ff., largely blank [part 1], followed by 74 originally unnumb. ff. [part 2]). 32 × 22 cm. Several ff. with official stamp. Contemp. vellum (no. 2 and date 1750 on front cover).

LEA 526.

GONDI-MEDICI. Fragmentary volume, beginning with f.309; primarily business papers, preponderantly Gondi documents: A. GONDI. 1. Papers dealing with real estate, settlements, various payments, inheritance, etc., starting with Cession of property in St. Germain des Prés by Giovanni Battista di Geronimo G. to Lisabetta G. (Lat. and Fr., 1605; ff.308–11, cont. 332–5), followed by Compromesso di Alessandro et altri G. e Anibale Lenzi, per l'eredità Gondi (1606; ff.312, 331); agreement between Giovanbattista di Francesco Bardi, Alessandro and Filippo G. and Anibale Lenzi (1606; ff.313–4, 329–30); sale of property; inheritance of Alessandro G., etc. Of particular interest: "Inventario di pitture e cose delitiose" (incl. sculptures) in the home of Bernardo di Carlo G., enumerating works by Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto, Raffael, Parmigiano, Giotto, Donatello, a volume of drawings by Giuliano di Francesco Giamberti, architetto, dated 1465, and many others (1609; ff.316–7, 326–7). Section 1 pertains to the years 1605–21, ending with two vellum documents relating to a settle-

ment between Cornelia Doni (Gorini, in French, 1617, 1621, ff.339-40, 357-8, 341-2, 355-6). — 2. This section is similar in contents and covers the years 1646-1724. It begins with the record of a payment of lire 230 (1646; f.338), followed by "Permutatio bonorum" between Tommaso Medici and Giovanni Battista Gondi (1647; ff.343-5); two "Cessiones iurium," made "a favore de Signori Gondi" by Lorenzo Buonaccorsi and Giannozzo da Cepparello (1650; ff.362-5, 389-93), etc. Gondi named include Federigo, Giovanni Battista di Filippo, Carlantonio. — B. MEDICI documents: 1. Arbitration in favor of Silvestro d'Alamanno M., involving Niccolò di Silvestro [M.] and members of the Arrighi family (ca. 1370; ff.424-30). — 2. Ricordo di tutti i debiti di Bernardo d'Alamanno M. (ca. 1440; f.447). — 3. Ricordi di beni di Bernardo M. (same hand as 2, same date; f.448). *Various places, [14th-15th -] 17th-18th cent.*

Paper, a few docs. vellum. Ff.308-413, 423-8. Ca. 31 × 23 cm. Few notarial signets. Boxed.

LEA 527.

———. Unbound miscellaneous collection of documents. 1. The first 102 ff. and ff.116-54 (in Italian, French and Latin) relate primarily to the GONDI family. A few of the documents are on vellum. Included are powers of attorney, commissions, letters, etc., some relating to matters of inheritance. Among members of the Gondi are Leonardo; Alessandro; Giovanni Battista; Filippo di Giovanni; Raffaello; Giovanna di Roberto Ricci, wife of Alessandro; Giuliano; Emilio, Federigo d'Alessandro; Alberto and Ottavia. The documents cover the years 1593-1715, mention a variety of places, especially Paris (some were issued there), and many other families and individuals, among them Roberto Ricci (ff.1-2); Giovanni Ricci (f.5); Bartolomeo de Pasquinis (ff.6-12); Jacopo and Alessandro Giunta (also spelled Gionta, ff.17-8, 27-8); Pietro Ripaioli (ff.35, 58, 36-7, 56-7); Margherita Serafini (ff.61, 102); Antonio Galilei (ff.116-22); and the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II (filza di mandati del Gran Duca, 1650-2, ff.64-73, 87-99). Several documents are stitched together, but are not consecutive. — Interspersed are various apparently unconnected items: fragment of account book (Medici?, 1494; ff.103-7); expense account of Tommaso Correi or Corresi, master of an unnamed ship (1606; ff.108-15). — 2. Ff.155-311 are largely MEDICI documents (accounts, receipts, reports, letters, etc.) dealing with a variety of subjects and persons, including reports on commercial and diplomatic missions (e.g., galere turche 1609; f.161); business in Lisbon (1609; ff.162-3) and Spain (ff.188-9, 307-9); documents on Medici possession (Valdinievole, ff.175, 251; Mugello,



ff.199–200; Montecatini, ff.298–9; etc.); the Monte di pietà; mint; attempted murder of Ferdinand II (ff.301–2); inheritance of Vincenzo M.; also extraneous items like copy of passport issued by the Grand Duke to Baron de Salignac for travel to Constantinople (1608; ff.159–60)). Among the Medici are Vincenzo (ff.24, 181, 184–5, 293, etc.); Luigi di Bivigliano (f.130); Bernardino (ff.142–3); Bivigliano (ff.183, 245–7, 284, 308); Andrea (f.308); Lucrezia, Caterina and Francesca (ff.201–37); large number of items involving the Grand Duke, mostly addressed to him, beginning on f.155 and continuing to the end of the volume. *Various places, 1494–1715.*

311 ff. (incl. blank). Various sizes (ca. 32 × 24 cm. maximum). Few seals. Boxed.

LEA 528.

———. Unbound collection of documents. *A.* Letters and petitions: 1. GONDI. Addressed to Lorenzo (1583–1625); Federigo (1528) and Antonio Francesco (1608); with 18th-cent. list of wills (ff.57–8). Some of these letters written by Emilio Gondi; Carlo Medici; Giovanni Arrighi; Marcello Donati (3); Sebastiano Cellesi (6), etc., dealing with a great variety of subjects, including trip to Venice, inheritance of Giulio Gualandi, recommendations, etc. – 2. MEDICI. Letters and petitions addressed to the Grand Dukes Ferdinand I, Ferdinand II (and his wife, 1610; ff.128–9); Leonora [?] (1582–4; ff.130–5); and Vincenzo and Andrea (ca. 1606–10; ff.136–8), primarily covering the years 1582–1620, but with one report of 1638 (f.127). Some written by Horatio Bargellini; Vincenzo Medici; Carlo Albertinelli; a number of “vasalli,” etc. – They are dealing primarily with business affairs (several on the mint, and including one on trade with the East, 1609; ff.93–6), Monte di pietà, and with a number of localities, especially Pisa, Siena, Livorno and Cyprus. – 3. MISCELLANEOUS: Letter to a capitano di Cortona (1572; ff.139–42); deputy of Pistoia (1609; f.143); consoli di mare of Pisa (1609; f.144); one by Alberto Barducci (1609; f.145); and memorandum on Montecatini (ca. 1610; ff.146–7). – *B.* ACCOUNTS (especially partite) involving Ferdinand II; Camilla M.; Lisabetta M.; Carlo M.; Vincenzo and Andrea M.; among others are Strozzi (ca. 1590); Deti; Lapini; Risaliti; Amadori (1507–1630; ff.148–267). *Various places, 1507 – 18th cent.*

267 ff. (originally arranged without sequence of any kind). Ca. 32 × 22 cm. Numerous seals (partly broken). Loose contemp. vellum with faded title on spine (*Minute*; marked “GL,” “I,” and numbered 268), boxed.

*End of Gondi section.*

ARRIGUCCI Family. Filza XXIV di scritture dei Signori Arrigucci [segnata] A:2<sup>a</sup>. Begins with 16th-cent. copy of 1390 document on origin of family in Fiesole (ff.1-9), supplemented by numerous items of special genealogical interest (genealogy, ff.24, 357; wills: Giovanni di Filippo (1471; ff.215-6); Giovanni d'Andrea [I] (1519 [copy]; ff.325-38); Ginevra, widow of Filippo di Giovanni (1530; ff.40-3); Giovanni d'Andrea [II] (1566-1607, 1619; ff.66-75, 356); Filippo di Giovanni (1587; ff.138-57); Caterina Arrigucci-Gondi (1651; ff.315-6)). The largest group involves Giovanni d'Andrea [II] di Giovanni d'Andrea [I], but many other members of the Arrigucci are represented in these primarily financial and legal documents: Giovanni di Filippo (1477); Andrea di Giovanni [I] (ca. 1480?); Andrea di Filippo (1509 [copy]); Filippo d'Arrighi (1513); Piero di Giovanni (1543); Filippo di Giovanni (1587); Luigi and Andrea d'Andrea (1587); Brigida di Giovanni (1595); Caterina A.-Gondi (1600-16); Aloysio d'Andrea (1605-14); Piero d'Andrea (1606-19); Andrea di Giovanni [II] (1615-9); Ottaviano and Arrigho d'Andrea (1631). — Among other families the following are noted: Segna de Balducci (1522; ff.36-9); Brigida di Galcotto de Medici (1538; ff.62-3); Francesco Capponi (1595; ff.171-6) and Camilla Capponi (ff.344-5); Federigo Gondi (1612; f.297); Giovanni Battista d'Alessandro Guadagni (1638; ff.262-3); Vincenzo and Camilla Magalotti (1602; ff.344-5); Piero di Francesco Portigiani (1599-1603, etc.; ff.346-7, 374-9, 404-5); Andrea and Albicino di Bernardo d'Andrea dall'Anciso (1592; ff.396-7), etc. — Specially noted: 1. Companies of GOLDSMITHS of Andrea di Giovanni A. (1477; ff.12-3) and Giovanni d'Andrea A. and Raffaello Signorini (1522; ff.32-4); Piero di Giovanni A. and Pierfrancesco d'Andrea Carnesecchi (1543; ff.46-7). — 2. ARTE DI SETA (1536; ff.44-5 and ca. 1580; ff.196-7). — 3. Custodianship of the A. over the see of FIESOLE (1559; ff.64-5). — 4. BANKING enterprise in Rome of Francesco Guidacci, Andrea Arrigucci and Francesco Sangalletti (1575-82; ff.81-135). — 5. INVENTORY of a palace in Florence belonging to the bishop of Fiesole, incl. list of books on f.413r (1482; ff.412-5). *Florence, etc., 1471 - 17th cent.*

418 ff. (ff.316-24 mssing; incl. blank ff.). 30 × 25 cm. Some notarial signets. 18th-cent. bds. (no. 307 on spine), boxed. — See also ms. Lea 460(4), etc.

———. Filza di scritture dell'Arrigucci [segnata] B2<sup>o</sup> XXV: 1. Domanda di Giovanni d'Andrea A. ai Capitani di Parte della città di Firenze (ca. 1605; ff.1-2, 11-2). — 2. Petitione di Marietta A. (1494; ff.3-10). — 3. Pro-

testatio pro Giovanni A. (1508; ff.14-31, 26-31). – 4. Comparatio et declaratio in nomine Andreae A. et Francisci de Sangallettis (1535?; ff.32-43). – 5. Tenuta et primum decretum dominae Dianorae, uxoris olim Joannis de A. (1525; ff.44-58). – 6. Domanda di regresso per il Sig. Luigi A. (ca. 1600; ff.60-3). – 7. Idem (1602; ff.64-5). – 8. Mandato rogato da Francesco Mainardi come padre e legittimo amministratore di Caterina A. (1602; ff.66-7). – 9. Johannes q. Andreae A. contra Petrum de Portigianis (1579; ff.68-76). – 10. Proceedings of a lengthy suit involving the sons of Giovanni A. (1534; ff.77-150). *Florence, 1494-1602.*

150 ff. (incl. blank). Ca. 30 × 23 cm. Boxed. – See also ms. 547, etc.

#### LEA 531.

CARLO (Buonaccorsi and Benedetto) UGUCCIONI [Ugochoni, Ughuconni] and FRANCESCO (and Carlo) MARUCELLI. 1. Copie di lettere, primarily of C. (here spelled Charlo) U., concerning business matters, addressed to Nicholò da Cepperello, Simone del Benino, Agnolo and Luigi Gaddi [Gadi, Ghadi], Bernardo Salviati [Salviatti], Lanfranco Spinola, Giovanmaria de Pilli, Nicholò Gentile and many others, primarily to Naples, a few to Florence, Bologna, etc. (1520; ff.1-47). – 2. Copie di lettere e casse di Francesco e Carlo Marucelli di Firenze (with notarial signets, 1526; ff.49-54, with traces of having been stitched and sealed). – 3. BENEDETTO DI GIOVANBATTISTA UGUCCIONI. Ledger (1532; ff. 55-61). *Spain?, 1520-32.*

64 ff. (a few blank). 33 × 23 cm. Cloth. – See also ms. 550, etc.

#### LEA 532.

Pope PAUL III and Pope JULIUS III. Libro di ricordanze; dealings of the apostolic treasury with Vincentius Spada (Spata, Spatha), “mercante Luchese,” and “socii mercatores” (incl. Martinus Guardini), much of the text concerning the collection of revenues in various parts of Italy, in France, Spain, from Jews, etc. Title on f.1r reads: Questo libro he un libro di ricordanze di me Martino quondam Martini quondam Paulini quondam Bartolomei Bernardinis de Lucha [scribe for Vincentius Spada?] . . . sul quale noterò le ricordanze. . . . (Entries in the name of the papal representatives (e.g., Hieronymus de Jarano, notary) are mostly in Latin, and all formal statements in a careful hand, while business entries are in a rapid cursive.) *Italy, 1547-51.*

170 ff. 34 × 23 cm. Notarial signet (f.106v). Cloth.

LEA 533.

SANGALLETTI, ARRIGUCCI and GUIDACCI. Filza XXIX: segnata F: Ricordo: Scritture Sangalletti. Business and legal documents of Guglielmo, Francesco and Lodovico Sangalletti; Giovanni di Filippo, Andrea, Galeotto, and Giovanni [d'Andrea] Arrigucci; and Francesco and Mario Guidacci; at one time (at least in part) joined as "bancarii" and "socii mercatores Florentini de Roma" and involved with the bank of the Medici, the papacy, and a large number of individuals, including Filippo Antinore, Filippo and Andrea Alamanno, Francesco Capponi, Pietro Montoia, Alessandro Altoviti, Girolamo Vanni, Piero Francipani, etc., covering the years 1550-91. — Includes the following items: 1. FRANCESCO SANGALLETTI and his "fundicaria pannorum et drapporum et aliorum mercium" owe Andrea Arrigucci, Filippo Antinore and company a large sum of money (1581-2; ff.120-7). — 2. NOTULA per D. Francesco de Sangalletti contra filios Andreae d'Arrigucci (ca. 1590; ff. 282-3). — 3. RESOLUTIONES dubiorum . . . contra donationem factam per Galeottum Arriguccium . . . D. Joanni eius fratri . . . ob fraudem (ca. 1590; ff.384-95, 445-54). — 4. Breve INFORMATIONE per Francesco Sangalletti contro i figlioli d'Andrea Arrigucci (ca. 1585; ff.441-4). — Added at end (ff.472-5) two somewhat extraneous documents: 5. Judgment of the INQUISITION against Guglielmo di Francesco Sangalletti (1596). — 6. GIOVANNI SFORZA's confession before his execution (with seal, 1597). *Various places, 1550-97.*

575 ff. (incl. blank). Ca. 30 × 22 cm. Some notarial signets and seals. 18th-cent. bds. (no. 312 {342?} on spine), boxed.

LEA 534.

GIOVANBATTISTA DETI e compagni lanaioli in garbo. Libro di filatori [e saponi e ricordi]; disbursements to workers against quantity of cloth [panni] received. *Florence?, 1557-58.*

144 ff. (ff.26-70, 74-5, 115-44 blank; ff.77-114 misnumbered 76-113), 6 ff. smaller size. 33.5 × 23 cm. Trademark of Deti on f.1r. Cloth. — Cf. mss. 327-9, 550 (5), etc.

LEA 535.

———. Libro di entrata e uscita segnato A. *Florence?, 1557-58.*

190 ff. (ff.8-39, 41-60, 127-90 blank). 28 × 21 cm. Trademark of Deti on f.1r. Cloth.

LEA 536.

BARTOLOMEO CORSINI. Scartafaccio di Pierantonio Corsini di Piacenza, fiera apparizione e pasqua. *Piacenza*, 1599.

18 ff. (text), 266 blank ff. 29 × 20 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 250 in upper right corner), boxed with mss. 538–9.

LEA 537.

FILIPPO and PIERO MANNELLI. Scartafaccio di Filippo e Piero Mannelli e compagni di Pisa, fiera di giugno, 1602. *Pisa*, 1602.

13 ff. 33.5 × 23 cm. Contemp. vellum (signet "M" on front cover). – Name Clemente Guardini on f.1r.

LEA 538.

GIULIO DI GIOVANNI RUCELLAI. Ricevute. *Florence?*, 1609–21.

96 ff. (ff.15–96 blank); 6 folded documents (2 addressed to Luigi Arrigucci) laid in at beginning. 14 × 10 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 213 on spine), boxed with mss. 536 and 539.

LEA 539.

[Unidentified] RISCONTRO con li banchi [segnato] A. Account involving very large amounts. Names frequently appearing are Francesco Bernardo Riccardi, Capponi-Medici, and especially Francesco Cantucci and Carlo Paganelli. *Florence?*, 1611–16.

32 ff. and 18 blank ff. 30 × 21 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 244 on front cover), boxed with mss. 536 and 538.

LEA 540.

LODOVICO CASSI. Libro . . . [di] compere segnato A . . . di Lodovico Cassi e compagnia di fondaco. Account book of the textile enterprise, referring on f.1v to Andrea de Medici as "nostro maggiore." *Florence*, 1616–21.

70 ff. and 10 blank ff. 34.5 × 23.5 cm. Contemp. vellum (marked "A, Compere," date 1616, no. 107 on front cover).

LEA 541.

———. Stracciafoglio, segnato B, di L. C. e compagni di fondaco. *Florence*, 1621-25.

112 ff. (last 4 blank). 33.5 × 23.5 cm. Cloth.

LEA 542.

STEFANO and FABIANO LAPINI. Stracciafoglio segnato A . . . di Stefano e Fabiano Lapini di fondaco. Record of cloth sales (ff. IV-112v); correspondence (copies, ff. 113r-37v); sales (ff. 138r-49v). The letters concern Aldobrando Mario Francesco Cerretani (Siena), Jacopo Falconcini (Ancona), Gaspero Bellarmini (Montepulciano), Baldo Bandini (Modigliana), etc., persons in Pisa, Livorno, Pistoia, Bologna and Venice. *Florence*, etc., 1625-31.

160 ff. (150-60 blank). 34 × 24 cm. Contemp. vellum (marked "A" and no. 17).

LEA 543.

PIERANTONIO BENUCCI and LUIGI NESTRI. Libro segreto di P. B. e L. N. e tintori d'arte maggiore [in Firenze]. Largely Ristretti del bilancio. *Florence*, 1633-41.

14 ff. (ff. 8-14 blank). 29 × 20.5 cm. Contemp. vellum, boxed with mss. 545 and 548. — Dates on top margins partly corrected, not corresponding to the dates of entries.

LEA 544.

PARENSI ENTERPRISE. Account book, debitori and creditori, of the vast enterprise of Geronimo Parensi and other members of the family (Gondi connected?), including Benedetto, Jacopo, Carlo, Urbano, Maria and Guglielmo Parensi, and dealing with a great variety of farm and other products, including domestic animals, grain, wine, oil (exported to Amsterdam, etc.), wood, iron, real estate, wages (including those of spinners), involving considerable sums (see especially entries concerning the estate of Jacopo Parensi). Entries refer to a multitude of persons, several properties (foremost among them Moriano) and occasionally to extraneous matters like "per un breve di Roma £127.10.—" (f. 94). *Italy*, 1676-91.

1 blank, 237, 1 blank ff. and 54 sheets (laid in in various places, mostly calculations). 34.5 × 23 cm. Contemp. vellum (marked "G. P." over "B").



LEA 545.

GIUSEPPE SERANTONI. Libro titolato Giornata . . . del Signore Giuseppe Serantoni, chincagliere in Vacchereccia. Record of accounts (and sales) involving a great variety of goods, textiles, crystal (from Bohemia), a snuffbox, pearls, etc., with great variety of buyers (e.g., Principessa Violante Beatrice, Alessandro Strozzi, Antonio Spinelli, Cosimo Venturi, Lorenzo Medici, Francesco Frescobaldi, and many others). *Flower?*, 1714-17.

78 ff. text and large number of blank ff. 27 × 20 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 57 on spine), boxed with mss. 543 and 548.

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LEA 546.

MONTALBODDO [Montalbodio, Montebodio]. Examination of 30 witnesses (see list inside front cover) before a tribunal in a controversy between members of the Paganelli family (Roberto, Bernardo, Onofrio) and the Malatesta (especially Sigismondo) of Rimini. Copy notarized by Amico Jacopi of Macerata. With occasional blank spaces, presumably because the copyist was unable to read the original. *Macerata?*, 1508-10.

116 ff. (last 2 blank). 29.5 × 22 cm. Notarial signet and seal (f.114r.) Cloth.

LEA 547.

FIVIZZANO. Libro del Signor Capitano [Giovanni Arrigucci] di Fivizzano [crossed out for unexplained reasons] nel quale sono registrate diverse suppliche e lettere di diversi anni [actually June 1548 - June 1549]. Most of the petitions, letters and memoranda, dealing with a great variety of persons and subjects, are addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I, or to other officials of the government; some appear to be drafts (a few are crossed out), with corrections. Many of the documents entered in this volume bear the name of Giovanni Arrigucci or the "auditor" Lelio Torelli]. *Fivizzano*, 1548-49.

1 blank, 119, 24 blank ff. + 3 unrelated documents laid in between ff.47-8 (2 dated 1554, 1-1557). 28 × 21 cm. Contemp. vellum (no. 145 on spine).

LEA 548.

CASA DI BAGNO. Nuovo inventario della casa del Bagno alla Villa, rimodernato e rifatto in quest'anno [1741]. Altro inventario simile e al

Bagno, nel banchetto in guardarobba. Riveduto, corretto, accomodato . . . 1744-6[-53]. Lists furniture, pictures, tapestries, clothing, household goods, etc. The owner is not named but is presumably a member of the Gondi (or Medici?) family. *Italy, 1741-53.*

29 ff. 32.5 × 24 cm. Contemp. bds. (numb. 174b), boxed with mss. 543 and 545.

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LEA 549.

MISCELLANY I, consisting of 1. Letters, legal documents, petitions, accounts, receipts, claims, etc., incl. notarized documents concerning Aloysius de Bartholis and the Monte (Lat., 1534; ff.2-3); monopoly of the Mercato vecchio in Florence (ca. 1540; ff.4-5); Memoriale di Giulio Giunti sopra i negozii di Vincenzo Ambrogi in Spagna (1602?; ff.14-5); request of city council of Amsterdam for the return of a vessel (1607; ff.20-1); Conti del Cav. Guidi mandato in Francia (viaggio di Firenze a Parigi, 1607-8; ff.22-5); claim against Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere (1609; ff.27-32); Instrumento de poder of Carlo Strata and others (Span., ca. 1610; ff.44-7); Passaporto e licenza for Vincenzo Medici, issued by Fernandez de Velasco (Milan, 1610; f.49); Procura di Simone Ruffi [?] (Span., ca. 1620; ff.54-7); Vendita di bestie (1670; ff.81-108, many blank); Ricordi attenenti al viaggio ai Bagni di Lucca di Giov. Batt. Gondi (1739-40; ff.109-38). - 2. Four items concerning the STATUTES of Florence and Valdinievole (1502 - ca. 1630; ff.143-6). - 3. Eleven items on TEXTILE TRADE (1571 - ca. 1610; ff.147-59). - 4. Inventory of CAMILLA MEDICI (1578) and of the compagnia di Piero Dini in Livorno (1593?) addressed to Grand Duke Ferdinand (ff.160-4). - 5. Fourteen letters and memoranda, many from Naples, addressed to GIOVANNI GIULIANI in Piacenza (1601-2; ff.165-79). - 6. Six items on the GRAIN TRADE (ca. 1605 - ca. 1610; ff.180-5). - 7. Eight documents on SHIPPING, incl. one on the slave trade (1606-43; ff.186-96). - 8. Extrait des registres [concerning the GONDI?] (1609; ff.197-208). - 9. Three items on the ZECCA (1609 - ca. 1630; ff.209-21). - 10. Two items on Negozio di SALE (1608-9; ff.222-3). - 11. Five INFORMAZIONI involving *int. al* Livorno, Neri Capponi and embassy to Milan (1609-10; ff.224-8). - 12. Copies of two letters to Queen CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN (1642?-55; ff.231-3). *Various places* [1502, in later copy?] 1534-1740.

233 ff. (incl. blank). Various sizes. Boxed.



LEA 550.

MISCELLANY II. 1. UGUCCIONI documents, i.e., Copialettere Giovanbattista and Carlo (1520; f.1); Bernardo to Hermannio Benedetto U. (1532; f.2); 25 letters to Carlo from Pierfilippo, Giovanfrancesco, Benedetto U.; Stagio Barducci, Guglielmo Gondi [?], and a few others; one by Carlo and one from Pierfilippo U. to Benedetto Buondelmonti (1531-4; ff.3-36). - 2. Six documents by, to or about Bivigliano d'Alamanno MEDICI, incl. two concerning a ransom "in memoria di Papa Leone [X]" (1534-43; ff.37-42). - 3. Variety of documents and reports (stitched together) incl. Mandati, estimo, obbligo, partite, etc., several addressed to JACOPO RICCIARDI (e.g., concerning Pontorno, 1607; ff.45-8); several involving Andrea di Carlo MEDICI; relating among others to Florence, Pisa, Volterra, Piacenza, largely from the first decade of the 17th cent. (1567-1637; ff.43-75). - 4. Supplica of Marchese Giovanni Antonio VESINO concerning Pitigliano and a debt to the Monte (ca. 1605; ff.76-9). - 5. Giovanmaria DETI. Conti, ordine, ricevute, signed by Lucrezia Deti (1538-90) and bundle of pagamenti (together 1583-92; ff.81-209). *Italy, 1520-1637.*

208 (numbered 1-209, f.80 omitted; ff.108-209 are strips of paper and are filed separately). Various sizes. Boxed.

LEA 551.

MISCELLANY III. 1. Seven items dealing with the MONTE DI PIETÀ, three of them copies of originals dated 1630, 1632 and 1644 (1604?-1662; ff.1-20). - 2. Three Dutch documents, one (or all?) from AMSTERDAM (1602-3; ff.21-3). - 3. AMADORI business correspondence, beginning with one item dated 1599 (from Bartolomeo Corsini to Niccolò A. in Piacenza), the others addressed to Francesco A. in Florence, largely between 1643 and 1649, and mostly signed by Jacopo Fiorentino (1599-1655; ff.24-160). - 4. LUIGI MANSI. Letters from Giulio Bernardini, Tommaso Bonaventura Bocchini, Aurelio Mansi, etc., to the Marchese Luigi Mansi in Lucca (1765; ff.161-208). - 5. GIUSEPPE e COSIMO SANTARNECCHI di Viareggio. Giornale, cassa e capitale della chiusa ricomprata a Giuseppe e Cosimo S., e rilasciata per salviano amichevole al Nobil. Sig. Francesco Mazzarosa (1796-1802), together with various letters, documents, receipts, loosely inserted (1796-1804; ff.209-55). *Various places, 1599-1804.*

255 ff. Various sizes. Boxed.

MISCELLANY IV, consisting of partial sections and some single sheets, all previously numbered, presumably when they formed part of bound volumes. (See contents; earlier numbering in italics.) *Italy, 1445-1698.*

273 ff. Various sizes. Boxed. — *Contents:* 1. 174: REPUBBLICA FIORENTINA. Statuto sopra le bestie (1455; f.1). — 2. 53-50: MEDICI documents (Alamanno di Bernardo, Bivigliano d'Alamanno, Niccolò, etc., also Giovanbattista Bettini, various Capponi, etc., 1445 — ca. 1620; ff.2-21). — 3. 263-6: CARLO [di Bernardo] MEDICI. Scritta di parentado (1518-33[36]; ff.51-4). — 4. 527: Document concerning ALESSANDRO MANNELLI (ca. 1520; f.55). — 5. 520-30: Causa di CARLO MEDICI e Sebastiano Paci, involving the arte di lana, Giovanbattista Bettini, etc. (1535; ff.56-65). — 6. 261-340: GIOVANNI ARRIGUCCI contra creditores Galeotti (1583-4; ff.67-147). — 7. 525, 528-9: Documents concerning the HEIRS OF CARLO MEDICI (ca. 1600; ff.148-50). — 8. 174-8, 195, 216: BANCA CAPPONI-MEDICI, involving claims in Messina, the Count Alfonso Montecuccoli, Cosimo Nasi, etc. (1607-10; ff.151-9). — 9. 210-5, 218-21, 224, 231-9, 241-4, 246: NERI CAPPONI [*et al.*]. Vincenzo and Andrea Medici documents (1610-5; ff.160-84). — 10. 125-6: MONTE DI PIETÀ e compra d'Ottaviano (1656; ff.185-6). — 11. Account books (a) 1-16, 51-64, 131-6: FERDINANDO and CARLO ANTONIO GONDI (1697-8; ff.187-234). (b) 177-92, 257-88, 97-103: CARLO UGUCCIONI [?]. Three items, the second marked "libro 74," the third "libro 49" and "a Francesco del Sole" (1515-6; ff. 235-66). (c) 97-103: Unidentified textile [?] enterprise (among the frequently mentioned names are Federigo de Ricci, Francesco Risaliti and Filippo Salviati, 1559-60; ff.267-73).

MISCELLANY V, like the preceding consisting of partial sections and some single sheets, all previously numbered. An important segment deals with the CAPPONI-MEDICI bank in Naples. *Various places, 1607-92.*

117 ff. Various sizes. Boxed. — *Partial contents:* 1. 169-72: Compagnia of NERI CAPPONI, Andrea Medici, and Niccolò Doni in Florence with Giovanni del Corno and Alessandro Quaratesi in Naples (1607; ff.1-4). — 2. 254-63: Similar compagnia of CAPPONI-MEDICI, Cosimo del Sera and Vincenzo Vettori (1615-20; ff.5-14). — 3. 266-7: Compagnia of VINCENZIO GUIGNI, Andrea Medici, Cosimo e Gabriello Riccardi and Piermaria Salvini, with indication of their investment totaling fl.16,000 (1616; ff.15-6). — 4. 273-4: Compagnia of Carlo, Lione and Alfonso STROZZI, Silvestro Ginori and Carlo Bartoli (1617; ff.19-20). — 5. 286-93: Compagnia of CAPPONI-MEDICI, Vincenzo Vettori and Giovanbattista Martini in Naples (1621; ff.21-8). — 6. 297-8: ALBERTO ALTOVITI, Vincenzo Medici e saline di Napoli (1645; ff.32-3). — 7. 301-3, 313-22, 338-9: RUBERTO CAPPONI documents (1623-38; ff.36-8, 49-52, 74-5). — 8. Accomandita di CAPPONI e MEDICI con li Pandolfini (1623; ff.39-40). — 9. 310-1: Negotio d'arte di seta of Francesco and Vincenzo MEDICI and Lodovico Caffarelli (1628; ff.45-6). — 10. 313-31: Lodo di CHRISTINA, Gran Duchessa di Toscana (1632; ff.49-57) with sequence to the preceding, involving

pagamenti di Francesco and Vincenzo MEDICI (1663-8; ff.58-67). - 11. 332-3: Dote di LORENZO ALTOVITI alla Signora Camilla sua figlia (1633; ff.68-9). - 12. 468-501: Accordo nella causa pecuniaria secondo il guidizio mosso dal Signore JACOPO ALTOVITI contro le Signorine Ottavia e Maddalena Gondi (1692; ff.80-113). - 13. 502-5: ANDREA MEDICI e tintore Alessandro Massa (1623 [falso? 1693]; ff.114-7).

*End of Medici-Gondi Archive II.*

## German MS.32: Eighteenth-Century Ribaldry and Religion

ALBERT R. SCHMITT\*

SINCE January of 1953 the University of Pennsylvania Library's Rare Books Collection has been the fortunate owner of a late eighteenth-century German manuscript which in Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1965), Ger. 32, is described as follows: "GERMAN POETRY COLLECTION, with some prose and one text in French interspersed. Among the authors are Gottfried August Bürger, Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, Kristian Benjamin Schubert, Gotthold Stäudlin, and Christoph Martin Wieland. Germany, late 18th cent. Paper. 52 ff. and blank ff. 21 × 13.5 cm. Contemp. paper cover, bound in modern vellum.—Prov.: Dr. R. von Viettinghoff."

The description of the contents is brief; and, depending on the manuscript itself, as it does, it is partly inaccurate because the manuscript is partly inaccurate. Careful examination and subsequent editing of the forty-seven separate texts, some of which I published previously in *The Library Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> have resulted in some interesting discoveries. (One discovery which, unfortunately, could not be made, despite thorough and time-consuming investigations carried out unselfishly by Baron Egon von Viettinghoff-Scheel of Stade, Germany, concerns the mystery-shrouded identity of the presumed compiler-owner of the manuscript, "Dr. R. v. Viettinghoff," whose name appears on the first page.) The texts ascribed to Kristian Benjamin Schubert and Christoph Martin Wieland turned out to have been penned by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, respectively. The two works in question are Schubart's "Der ewige Jude" and Goethe's early poem "Der wahre Genuss." It could not be ascertained from which sources these two poems were copied. In the case of the Schubart poem it must be assumed that the source was either G. F. Stäudlin's *Schwäbischer*

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*Musenalmanach* of 1784 or the second volume of Schubart's *Sämmtliche Gedichte* (Stuttgart, 1785/86). Significant is the fact that our manuscript omits lines 59–80 and 107–112 of the “lyrische Rhapsodie” as we know it. The possibility, therefore, cannot be denied that the version in the manuscript was copied from a handbill. We know that poems and other writings were frequently circulated in that manner before they found their way—with or without the authors’ permission—into one of the numerous *Almanache* or *Taschenkalender*.

Moving on to Goethe’s poem “Der wahre Genuss” we find that, as far as its tradition is concerned, we are faced with a curiosity of the first order. Goethe included the poem in a letter to his friend Behrisch. The letter is dated Leipzig, December 4, 1767. The poem consists of ten eight-line stanzas. The manuscript, however, contains only the first six, ends with the remark “(reliq. desunt),” and is signed “Wieland.” The copier apparently either knew there were more stanzas but could not obtain them, or he did not bother to write them down. Goethe himself had made various changes for the poem’s first printing in the collection *Neue Lieder in Melodien gesetzt von Bernh. Theod. Breitkopf* (Leipzig, 1770). In this amended version the poem appeared again in the *Almanach der deutschen Musen auf das Jahr 1773* (Leipzig, in der Schwickertschen Buchhandlung). A third printing was planned for volume 8 of Goethe’s *Schriften* (1790) but the poet himself decided at the last minute not to include the work. The version which appears in the manuscript—plus the remaining four stanzas—was first published by Eugen Wolff in his anthology *Der junge Goethe* (Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1907), pp. 55–57. The question is, of course, how the compiler of our manuscript obtained the original version of the poem which was handed down only as an enclosure to Goethe’s letter to Behrisch. Perhaps the answer to this question will never be found. An hypothesis can be advanced, but more about that later in connection with a poem by Bürger which has a similar history. Concerning the fact that Wieland is named as the author of “Der wahre Genuss” we have to refer, of course, to his reputation as the writer of numerous works, primarily verse narratives, that are quite erotic in nature (cf. his *Comische Erzählungen*, first ed., 1765). Since the poem in question was written by Goethe during his own rococo period which was strongly influenced by Wieland and shows characteristics of the latter’s thought and style,



we must not be surprised that it was ascribed to him. Moreover, the *Almanach* in which the second printing of the poem appeared— anonymously—in 1773 was dedicated to Wieland and bore his picture opposite the title page. But since the version contained in that *Almanach* does not agree with ours we have to discard the theory that it was copied from there.

The poem by Gottfried August Bürger alluded to above bears the unassuming title "Die Wunderwerke." In the manuscript it consists of six six-line stanzas. In completely uninhibited and ribaldly robust language the celebrated poet of the famous "Lenore"-ballad gives the reader a quick course in the anatomy of the male figure. As to this poem we can state with a fair degree of certainty how it came into the hands of our anthologist. It is to be found in at least two of those numerous pornographic publications that appeared particularly frequently during the last two decades of the eighteenth century and were usually dedicated to Priapus. It may be said in the form of an aside that, as rough as some of these pieces of underground literature are, they are generally to be preferred to our present-day pornography since they were at least dressed up—usually—in elegant rococo language and poetic form! The poem in question I found in one of those pamphlets entitled *Priapische Dichterlaune*, Erste Auflage (Macedonien [i.e., Vienna], 1788), pp. 63–64. It is most likely from this book that our "Wunderwerke" were copied since here the title is given too. The title does not appear, however, with the poem in its original form which is part of—again—a personal letter, this time by Bürger to his publisher Johann Christian Dieterich of Göttingen. The letter is dated Appenrode, July 20, 1780. The first scholar in more recent times to have seen this letter was Carl Schüddekopf who, in a rather lengthy study entitled "Nachlese zu Bürger," edited and commented on some hitherto unpublished letters by Bürger. He printed there the text of the letter but could not see fit to include what he calls the "sieben sechszeilige Strophen einer geradezu unflätigen Parodie auf ein unbekanntes Lied 'Der Jüngling, den ich liebe' . . ." <sup>2</sup> However, in 1910 Erich Ebstein published—in a private printing numbering only fifty-nine copies, one of which I saw in the the Göttingen University Library and one at Harvard—the entire Bürger-Dieterich correspondence under the title *Gottfried August Bürger und Johann Christian Dieterich* (Privatdruck, München-Leip-

zig). Here the poem appears on pp. 71-72, but without the title "Die Wunderwerke." Repeatedly Bürger ended his letters to Dieterich, which abound in obscenities, with the urgent request not to show them to anyone. The letter containing "Die Wunderwerke" was, however, an exception, for Bürger stated in conclusion: "Adio! Zeigt doch die schönen Zusätze [the poem] Lichtenbergen" (Ebstein, p. 73). It is obvious that Dieterich could not help but show this letter not only to Lichtenberg but also to others who must have copied and circulated it. And this is probably how it ended up in the *Priapische Dichterlaune* of 1788. Poems of this kind have an amazing longevity. "Die Wunderwerke" were included by Heinz Ludwig Arnold in his anthology *Dein Leib ist mein Gedicht: Deutsche erotische Lyrik aus fünf Jahrhunderten*.<sup>3</sup> By now only five stanzas are left of the original seven. Arnold wrongly attributes the poem to Johann Gabriel Bernhard Büschel (1758-1813) in whose collection called *Kanthariden* (Rome, 1788) he found it. Since Dieterich let Bürger's letter with its poem out of his hands it is entirely possible that Behrisch did the same with Goethe's letter. We must assume that copies were made and circulated, and it is not unlikely that an unknown printing is hiding in the "forbidden books" section of some library.

Other poems in the manuscript which are of a more or less erotic nature are a "Trinklied" (anonymous), "Du und ich," a parody of Aloys Blumauer's "Ich und Du" (probably by Bürger), "Wie ich die Liebe kennen lernte" (signed "Bürger"), an anonymous German hexameter version of the fifth elegy from Ovid's *Amores*, and "An die Venus" (signed "B—r," probably Bürger). The latter H. L. Arnold in his above-cited anthology again ascribes to Büschel.

Of literary interest is a generally unknown satirical poem by Gotthold Friedrich Stäudlin against Schiller, entitled "Lied eines Vagabunden."<sup>4</sup> This poem is the last link in a long chain of mutual attacks that raged between the two Swabian poets in the early 1780's. In September of 1781 Stäudlin published his *Schwäbischer Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1782*. It is assumed that he refused to accept for publication in this *Almanach* some of Schiller's poems, whereupon the latter, with the help of friends, put together his famous *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782*. In an anonymous review of his own anthology and in a rather scathing critique of Stäudlin's *Musenalmanach* Schiller attacked his colleague's poetic mediocrity, causing Stäudlin to write a rather

clumsy satire called "Das Kraftgenie."<sup>5</sup> This collection was, in turn, reviewed in hardly flattering terms by Schiller who then, however, let the matter rest. Not so Stäudlin. As late as 1788 (cf. note 4) he published our "Lied eines Vagabunden" as well as another satire against Schiller, "Der Egoist," which is to be found in the same edition of *Gedichte*. In the "Lied eines Vagabunden," consisting of twenty-one four-line stanzas, Stäudlin refers to Schiller as "an Sorgen mehr als Thalern schwer" and compares his appearance to that of the bandit Roller in *Die Räuber*, "als er, o neidenswerte That! / vom Galgen aufs Theater trat!" Unflattering remarks are made about Schiller's rather large and pointed nose, his medical and philosophical studies, and his outbreaks of "Genie"—an obvious reference to Schiller's *Sturm-und-Drang* period:

Da schlag ich, dass es widerhallt  
Die Stirn mit schrecklicher Gewalt  
Und donnre, bis das Ohr euch gellt,  
Die Flüche aus der Teufelwelt.

Ihr bebt vor meinem wilden Blick,  
Wie vor Beelzebubs zurück,  
Vorm Fäusteschlag, als wollt' er euch  
Tief schleudern in das Qualenreich.

Und treff' ich stumpf Gesindel an,  
Das meine Kunst nicht fühlen kann,  
So schimpf ich über Gott und Welt  
Um einen Imbiss oder Geld!

Wer mit der Faust mich gröblich trifft,  
Den straf' ich mit dem Kiel wie Swift. . . .

Among the other entries in the manuscript are fascinating texts which not only reflect upon the anthologist's personal interests but at the same time provide a history of eighteenth-century German thought *en miniature*. There is a—rather bad—poem of almost epic proportion (seventy-four eight-line stanzas!) entitled "Die schöne Beckerin," which first appeared in the highly reputable journal *Deutsches Museum* (February 1781). The author is most likely Gotthelf



Wilhelm Rupert Becker (1759–1823). I am not sure whether this creation, called “Eine Legende” in the subtitle, is not based on an anonymously published early seventeenth-century “Liedt . . . von . . . eines Becken Weib,” a copy of which I have so far been unable to locate.

The Alsatian *Spätaufklärer* Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel is represented twice in the manuscript. The first poem, “Der Inquisit,” deals with a victim of the Inquisition “Den wilde Priester in Madrid / Zu Gottes Preis gebraten hatten.”<sup>6</sup> When a good spirit (“Ithuriel”) and an evil spirit (“Belial”) struggle over the soul of the deceased and victory seems to favor the heavenly host, an inquisitor, a Dominican monk, appears, waving his crucifix and protesting the impending ascension of the victim’s immortal remains:

Was! rief der Mönch mit stolzem Trutz,  
Dem Frevler, den mein Arm geschlachtet,  
Weil er den Rosenkranz verachtet,  
Gewährt ein Engel seinen Schutz?  
Ein Engel! Nein! mich zu verführen,  
Hüllt Satan sich in falsches Licht.

The monk’s attempt to exorcise the scraph fails when the latter paralyzes the inquisitor’s right arm. He calls on St. Dominic for assistance who does appear

Allein nicht mit dem Fluch im Munde,  
Nicht mit den Augen, die dem Schlunde  
Der Hölle gleich, Verderben sprühn.  
An ihren Wimpern glänzten Tränen,  
Geweint, um eine schwere Schuld  
Beim Allerbarmer auszusöhnen.

The saint explains that he and his order have been laboring under an illusion and that manifestations of shame and repentance are in order. For five hundred years he had been forced to lead the souls of “barbarians of his guild” to purgatory. He himself will not be admitted to heaven until the rule of the Inquisition is ended. At this moment the “martyr’s” soul is carried heavenward while the evil spirit gnashes his teeth and then exclaims:

Ein Glück ist's dass die Erdensöhne  
Des Muckers Rede nicht gehört!  
Denn wüssten erst die Hierarchen,  
Inquisitoren und Monarchen,  
Was den Verfolgern widerfährt,  
Sie steckten bald, des Würgens müde,  
Das orthodoxe Rachschart ein:  
Und macht einmal die Kirche Friede,  
Wer möchte da noch Teufel sein?

The second work by Pfeffel in the manuscript is a long (212 lines) "Epistle" with the title "Der Spiegel des Lebens" in which the poet laments mankind's cruel lot. After recounting to his poet-friend Leopold G. v. Goeckingk, to whom this "Epistle" is dedicated, the sufferings an unsympathetic fate often has in store for defenseless humans, Pfeffel goes on to castigate the acts of exploitation and torment heaped on man by his fellowmen. Mankind's true lot one learns

. . . bei den Hekatomben  
die der Eroberer würgen lässt,  
und in den weiten Katakomben  
des blassen Hungers und der Pest;  
und in den dunklen Magazinen  
des Geizes, in Potosis Minen,  
wo jährlich der Natur zum Spott  
ein Heer von Märtyrern verschmachtet,

. . .  
und in Messinens Feuerschlünden,  
wo Kinder, halb vom Schutt erdrückt,  
sich ächzend um die Mutter winden  
bis sie der Schwefeldampf erstickt;  
und bei der Kirche Brand Altären,  
die festlich den zu Staub verzehren,  
der anders, aber redlich glaubt,  
indes sie noch aus Gottes Worte,  
dem Armen an der Todes Pforte  
den letzten Trost, die Hoffnung, raubt.

. . .  
Wer zählt die Menge, die in Zellen,  
Palästen, Hütten und Kapellen,

in Kerkern und auf Gräbern klagt?  
O wahrlich, unter Millionen,  
die hier auf Gottes Erde wohnen,

. . .

betreten wenige die Brücke  
der Ewigkeit, die vor dem Thron  
des milden Vaters der Geschicke  
nicht für ihr blosses Dasein schon  
Entschädigung erwarten können.  
Ist dieses Irreligion,  
so mag die Inquisition  
mein Evangelium verbrennen. . . .

This moving piece of eighteenth-century *Tendenz-Literatur*, which was first published in Voss' *Musenalmanach* of 1785, is followed in the manuscript by an example of *Sturm-und-Drang* poetry, "Gedanken eines Freigeistes," by Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg.<sup>7</sup> Our compiler next copied sections from a 1756 London edition of Voltaire's controversial *Pucelle d'Orléans*, giving further evidence that he was something of a *Freigeist* and rebel himself. This fact is underscored by excerpts in the manuscript from an intriguing travelogue, *Figaro's Reisen nach und in Spanien* (Leipzig: Georg Emanuel Beer, 1785), translated from the French of a certain Marquis de Langle (pseudonym for Jérôme-Charlemagne Fleuriau), who is also of interest to Germanists for his *Le Nouveau Werther, imité de l'allemand* (Basel: J.-J. Flick, 1786). The only copy of *Figaro's Reisen* I discovered after a long search is at Weimar's venerable Thüringische Landesbibliothek whose director for many years was none other than Goethe himself. The author reports among other things his visit to the crypt of the Escorial where he looks at the graves of Spanish kings which bring to his mind cruelties, wars, public scourges, and other "Phänomene, die Epoche machten." In Madrid he listens to "Marktschreier," priests who preach of Christ's birth and passion as if they had witnessed everything themselves.

. . . Sie beschreiben Herodes, Pontius Pilatus, Judas und die Henker aufs Haar, und malen die Marien, . . . die Heb- und die Säugamme mit der grössten Genauigkeit. Hört man sie sprechen, so sollte man glauben, sie hätten mit den 3 Weisen geplaudert, den Stern gesehen, die Windeln

gelegt und das Kindlein gewiegt; . . . nennen sie alle Winkel, alle Sträucher auf dem Kalvarienberg, so sollte einer schwören, sie wären dort auf der Promenade auf der Jagd gewesen und kämen den Augenblick erst wieder zurück.

He tells of the fifteen hundred prostitutes who take possession of the Spanish capital at night, the multitudes occupying horrible hospitals, the many unemployed, religious hypocrisy and military despotism exercised by ubiquitous monks and soldiers. After some more attacks against church and state the passages contained in the manuscript close with this outcry:

. . . O dass wir aufhören möchten, Gott in 4 Mauren einzuschliessen; denn so prächtig und gross ein Tempel sein mag, so ist er doch ein Kerker für ihn; dass wir unsre Kirchen niederrissen und bald in schattigen Hainen, bald auf Höhen der Berge, bald am Fuss eines Felsen oder in einer Ebene, jeden Monat nur einmal Lobgesänge anstimmten, unsren Rosenkranz beteten, Weihrauch verbrennten und das Lob Gottes verkündigten.

No wonder that on February 26, 1788, "la première édition de ce Voyage fut condamnée à être brûlée, par arrêt du Parlement."<sup>8</sup> But not only the French censors outlawed the book; even Austria's literary guardians, who had turned relatively liberal during some of the reign of Joseph II, banned *Figaro's Reisen* from the realm.

Another rebellious liberal found his way into our manuscript: Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt*, as the title of Sten Gunnar Flygt's excellent book calls him.<sup>9</sup> This *enfant terrible* of the theology of German Enlightenment published between 1773 and 1775 in four volumes his own adaptation of the Bible, *Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen verdeutsch*, which brought upon him the wrath not only of orthodox theologians but also of the members of the *Sturm-und-Drang* generation. Thus Goethe composed his rather clumsy *Prolog zu den neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes* (1774), which tried in an unpleasant way to ridicule Bahrdt's work. Then there is, on the other hand, Lessing's "Anti-Goeze I" (1778), an eloquent defense of Bahrdt, born out of Lessing's strong belief in tolerance and in the necessity of respecting the freedom and dignity of others. It was this "translation" of the Bible which caused the *Reichshofrat* in Vienna to pass a *conclusum* on February 4, 1778, ordering confiscation of all copies of the *Neueste Offenbarungen*, suspending their author from his

ministerial and professorial duties and forbidding him to engage in any future publications. Bahrđt's "alleruntertänigste Bitte um Kommunikation der Klage und Vernehmung [seiner] weiteren Verteidigung" was turned down in a second *Reichshofratsconclusium*, dated March 27, 1779. These two decisions forced Bahrđt to leave "mein Amt, . . . und alles, was mir, meiner Gattin und vier kleinen un-erzogenen Kindern bisher Quell des Unterhalts und der Verpflegung gewesen war" and to flee to Prussia. In the manuscript we have portions of Bahrđt's *Glaubensbekenntnis, veranlasst durch ein kaiserliches Reichshofratsconclusium* (1779), which actually is an open letter to Emperor Joseph II. In this confession Bahrđt defends his beliefs and his rights to these convictions. In his sermons and writings he states, among other things, that he never deviated from the obligations of a Protestant teacher and "habe mit Klugheit und Vorsicht die Gesetze des Staats mit der Gewissensfreiheit zu vereinigen gesucht." Under the heading "Was ich glaube und nicht glaube" Bahrđt then presents in ten points his *confessio fidei* in which he states his belief in the fact that all men are sinners and in need of God's grace and mercy. He doubts, however, that being a sinner is an innate state and he doubts that all men were born with an inclination toward everything evil. He bases this doubt on the existence in man of so many splendid virtuous traits, of so many innate noble feelings and inclinations, "dass vielleicht nur eine andre Erziehungsmethode und von *Tyrannie* und *Luxus* mehr entfernte Lebensart nötig wäre, um der Menschheit ihre ursprüngliche Güte wiederzugeben."

Karl Goedeke's *Grundriss* lists fifteen counterattacks to this public confession. Probably the most voluminous of these attacks is that of the Halle theology professor Johann Salomo Semler, *Antwort auf das Bahrđsche* [sic] *Glaubensbekenntnis* (Halle, 1779). Semler tried in a fourteen-page preface and on 119 pages of text to refute Bahrđt's courageous declaration with theological subtleties and hairsplitting without being able to convince the reader—at least the modern one—of the righteousness of his cause. Outside of Lessing's polemics against the Hauptpastor Goeze no other piece of theological writing of that time is likely to demonstrate so overwhelmingly the nadir of stagnation and petrification to which Lutheran orthodoxy had fallen in the second half of the eighteenth century by clinging desperately to its traditions. No wonder that particularly the seventies and



eighties of that century are characterized by the most disparate spiritual and intellectual movements.

The rest of the manuscript contains miscellaneous items which are primarily of a religious, political, and socio-critical nature, focusing the reader's attention on the fact that the compiler of this anthology strongly sympathized with various manifestations of the revolutionary spirit that permeated the last few decades of the eighteenth century. There is first a very short German version of Bernard de Mandeville's famous *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714), to which Albrecht v. Haller made a negative reference as early as 1734 in his philosophical poem "Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels," and which Johann Gottfried Herder condemned twice, once in an essay of 1765, "Haben wir noch jetzt das Publikum und Vaterland der Alten?"<sup>10</sup> and then again in *Adrastea*<sup>11</sup> where he reviews the *Fable* in its entirety.

There are furthermore short passages in our manuscript from such deistic English writers as Matthew Tindal, John Toland, Thomas Woolston, and Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury. Thomas Hobbes is represented with the following unidentified but characteristic passage (probably from *Leviathan*): "Alle freien Handlungen des Menschen sind völlig indifferent. Nur dasjenige ist moralisch gut oder böse, was von dem Landsherrn dafür erklärt wird. Alle Begriffe von Tugend und Laster hängen also nur von der Willkür des Oberherrn ab." A very short and again unidentified passage from Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, also deserves to be quoted: "Die Lehre vom Himmel macht die Tugend lohnsüchtig, sklavisch."

Finally, mention should be made of some eighteen epigrammatic poems, most of which had to remain anonymous, whereas others could be traced to such German writers as Friedrich v. Logau, Peter Wilhelm Hensler, Leopold G. v. Goeckingk, August Gottlieb Meissner, and the Austrian Aloys Blumauer. Some of these I found in various *Musenalmanache* of the time, others in the popular *Taschenbuch für Dichter und Dichterfreunde* which was published in twelve parts (1774-81) by Dyk in Leipzig.

On the whole, this anthology offers some interesting and worthwhile insights into German intellectual life toward the end of the eighteenth century. There is definitely something rebellious about

the majority of the entries. Without too much difficulty we can identify some four main themes: 1) anti-clericalism, 2) uninhibited *joie de vivre*, 3) social criticism, and 4) politics. Of course, these have always been the favorite pastime of liberals and/or "professional" enemies of the "Establishment." We see, therefore, that over the centuries certain themes remain basically the same, even if the form may vary. There is evidence that our manuscript was compiled in or shortly after 1789, the year of the beginning of the French Revolution. At least none of the entries identified come from a work published after 1789. The question arises why our compiler knows and copies from such authors as Blumauer, Bürger, Pfeffel, Schubart, Stäudlin, and Stolberg. Not that they were the worst representatives of the literary scene of the time. But literary history and criticism have relegated them meanwhile—deservedly or undeservedly—to second or third place. After all, around 1790 our "collector" could easily have copied pages and pages from the works of the winners, such as Goethe, Herder, Klopstock, Lessing, Schiller, or Wieland. With the poem "Der wahre Genuss" the compiler came closest to one of the great, but on what a level! Could it be that the second- and third-raters had their ears to the ground, so to speak and expressed best the thoughts that were of general and popular concern? It is a fact, for instance, that Moritz August v. Thümmel received 5,000 Taler from his publisher Göschen for his longwinded novel *Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich* (10 vols., 1791–1805), which is more than Klopstock and Goethe together were paid for their works by the same publisher.<sup>12</sup> Be that as it may, the manuscript shows clearly what concerned the overall educated man of the time, what he read and what was essential to him. These things he apparently did not look for or did not find in the works of the great. Since he found them in the works of writers of substellar magnitude we might deduce that the latter are perhaps better representatives of the spirit of the times than the former. To pervert a famous quotation from *Faust*: why should we not occasionally "schauen, wie vor uns ein kleiner Mann gedacht"? We could perhaps even attribute a different meaning to the well-known lines from "Vorspiel auf dem Theater" in the same work: "Zwar sind sie an das Beste nicht gewöhnt, / Allein sie haben schrecklich viel gelesen," or to the facetious remark, "Und, was das allerschlimmste bleibt, / Gar

mancher kommt vom Lesen der Journale." This manuscript provides new evidence that the *Almanache*, *Taschenkalender*, and the "journals" which Goethe reviles here, often contain treasures that may be of unthought-of value for the literary historian. Granted, these values often consist in small change, as is the case in our anthology, but if carefully and diligently collected and "invested" they may yield a capital with which we can acquire a better knowledge and a more accurate understanding of the past.

## NOTES

1. "Four Political Satires from an 18th Century German Manuscript," *The Library Chronicle* xxxii (1966), 105-116.
2. *Euphorion*, 3, (1897) *Ergänzungsheft*, p. 110.
3. (Bern, München, Wien: Rütten & Loening in der Scherzgruppe, 1970), p. 152.
4. In *Gedichte* (Stuttgart: gedruckt bei Gebrüder Mäntler, auf Kosten des Verfassers, 1788), I, 157-162.
5. *Vermischte poetische Stücke* (Stuttgart, 1782).
6. For this article I have modernized German spelling and grammar throughout.
7. It first appeared in *Gedichte der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg*, ed. by Heinrich Christian Boie (Leipzig: Weygand, 1779), pp. 154-155, under the title "Lied eines Freigeistes."
8. J. M. Quérard, *Les supercheries littéraires dévoilées*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1869), II, 40-41.
9. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1963).
10. *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan (Berlin, 1877-1913), I, 24.
11. (4. Band, 2. Stück, 1802), *ibid.*, xxiv, 106.
12. For this and similar information see W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 278ff.



# The Beckford Library Sale of 1817

ROBERT J. GEMMETT\*

IN MAY of 1817, for the third time in his collecting career, William Beckford marketed a select portion of his personal library by public auction. Students of the book world remember the later, more dramatic Beckford sales—the forty-day auction of 9,837 lots at the Hamilton sale in 1882–83 and even the earlier disposition of 3,960 lots at the Fonthill Abbey sale in 1823—but very little is known about the auction of 1817. This is due in part to the size and notoriety of the Fonthill and Hamilton sales; they understandably eclipsed the earlier sale. But the scarcity of the 1817 catalogue, which was printed and distributed by the bookseller just a few days prior to the event, has also contributed to its obscurity. Few copies of this rare document are known to exist today. In the British Museum's collection of catalogues of English book sales, however, there is an annotated copy of *A Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of William Beckford, Esq. of Fonthill*, which seems to have escaped the notice of many Beckfordians.<sup>1</sup> Publication of the document, with the purchasers' names and prices, besides serving as another index to the man—his tastes and intellectual interests—will make available to students of bibliography a remarkable collection of out-of-the-way volumes, the kind of bibliographical rarities that Beckford is known to have pursued throughout his life.

Beckford began collecting books and manuscripts seriously in his early twenties. Records among the Beckford Papers reveal that he was buying as early as 1783, and in 1784 he attended the sale of the Duc de la Vallière's library in Paris, where his experience of outbidding the King of France—right in his “august teeth”—was a shot of adrenalin in his veins. From then on he seemed driven to appropriate more literary treasures. In 1796 he bought Edward Gibbon's library outright for £950, perhaps his most flamboyant venture, and then turned around some years later and gave almost the whole of it to a friend. His reading interests favored travel books, topography, the occult, histories, memoirs of famous men, and Oriental studies. He

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enthusiastically gathered books that were once in the possession of such distinguished collectors as Grolier, Mailoi, Canevari, De Thou, and Peiresc. Illustrated volumes printed on fine paper and attired in handsome bindings also found their place on the shelves in Fonthill Abbey. During his most active years, he surveyed all the great sales in both London and Paris, thumbed excitedly through booksellers' catalogues, and made his purchases most often through a bevy of agents who were always ready to accommodate his epic bibliomania.

During the years immediately preceding 1817, Beckford's financial position, despite his reputation for having a very full purse, became precarious. His main source of income had been derived from family-owned sugar plantations in Jamaica, W. I., but the decline of sugar prices in England after 1800 and the economic depression of 1815-16 caused a financial squeeze that even "England's Wealthiest Son" could not endure. By the spring of 1817 his difficulties were so intensified that he began to make arrangements to sell some of his books along with the contents of his house in London, No. 6 Upper Harley Street, which he could no longer afford to lease. In early April he and his bookseller friend, William Clarke (nicknamed "Boletus"),<sup>2</sup> were already busily engaged in the selection of books and drawings to be sold the following month. As Beckford wrote from Fonthill on the 3rd of April: "All my happiness at the moment is centered on Boletus and the harvest which he is reaping—a copious and rich one." And then the following day: "... it costs me something to tear myself away from the books, which are all my care. We have much labour—comparing, examining, deciding whether this or that copy is preferable, etc., etc."<sup>3</sup>

The sale of books and drawings from Beckford's library took place at noon on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the 6th, 7th, and 8th of May 1817. It was conducted by Mr. Sotheby at his place of business at 145 Strand, opposite Catherine Street in London. An advertisement had appeared in *The Times* of London on the 3rd of May to announce the auction:

A Portion of the LIBRARY of WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq., of Fonthill; comprising many valuable articles in topography, history, and antiquities, mostly chosen copies, on large paper, with duplicate proofs, and in the finest condition. . . . To be viewed; catalogues, price 6d., at the place of sale.

Unlike the earlier sales in 1804 and 1808, Beckford decided to associate his name with this sale.<sup>4</sup> One can only guess as to why he decided not to remain anonymous this time; he may have simply recognized the promotional value of the Beckford name, or perhaps William Clarke urged him to do so. Clarke had handled the 1808 sale for Beckford, and he very likely made arrangements with the Sotheby firm to initiate this one.

The sale grossed £3080 14s., an impressive sum particularly in view of the fact that only 323 lots were auctioned. Commissions had to be deducted from this total, but Beckford must have been pleased with the amount he finally received. Considering the liberal prices paid for some of the individual lots, the bidding must have been vigorous at times, with emotions running high. Some of the important items offered and their prices were: A subscription copy of Buck's *Antiquities and Views of Cities and Chief Towns*, £53 11s. (#91); Nichols' *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 1795, in Large Paper, £86 2s. (#96); a first edition of Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, 1773, Large Paper, £52 10s. (#129); a complete version of *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, 1780, £73 10s. (#162); Hutchins' *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 1796, a rare uncut edition, £68 5s. (#182); Clarke's *Life of Lord Nelson*, 1809, one of three copies printed on vellum, £45 3s. (#287); one of ten sets of the rare *Voyage Pittoresque de Naples*, 1781-86, printed on fine paper, £89 5s. (#312); a complete set of Hogarth's *Works*, "containing all the rare pieces of this inimitable artist, in all their variety of states," £157 10s. (#313). The highest price for a single lot was obtained for two volumes of miniatures, "representing the system of Indian Mythology," from the personal collection of Colonel A. L. H. de Polier, £267 15s. (#319). Perhaps the most disappointing sale was *The Works of Tobias Stimer*, "containing upwards of 1200 wood cuts," which realized a meager £10 10s (#206).

The British Museum copy of *A Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of William Beckford, Esq.* measures  $6\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  inches after heavy cropping. Unfortunately the margins have been trimmed to the point where only the printed area of each page remains. In the original state, however, signatures "B," "B2," "C," and "C2" appeared on the second, third, sixth, and seventh leaves respectively (i.e., pages [1], 3, 9, and 11).<sup>5</sup> Of the nineteen pages, the first carries the title and a

brief description of the sale and the second the "Conditions of Sale." The third is unnumbered but the fourth through the seventeenth pages bear at the top the parenthesized numbers "2" through "17." On these appear in size groupings of "Octavo et Infra," "Quarto," and "Folio" the book lots to be sold during the three days, followed by a separate listing for "Original Chinese Drawings" (1st day), "Oriental Drawings in Natural History" (2nd day), "Original Chinese and Hindu Drawings" (3rd day). Thus the lots are broken down as follows: book lots 1-100, drawings 101-105 on 6 May; book lots 106-206, drawings 208-220 on 7 May; book lots 221-314, drawings 315-323 on 8 May: 1-13 (p. [1]), 14-36 (p. 2), 37-61 (p. 3), 62-84 (p. 4), 85-101 (p. 5), 102-114 (p. 6), 115-137 (p. 7), 138-161 (p. 8), 162-180 (p. 9), 181-202 (p. 10), 203-220 (p. 11), 221-240 (p. 12), 241-267 (p. 13), 268-292 (p. 14), 293-309 (p. 15), 310-319 (p. 16), 320-323 (p. 17). One lot (207) has been omitted; two lots (322, 323) were added in ink after the catalogue was printed.

Throughout the text of the catalogue are markings, some illegible but most clearly defined, inscribed presumably by an employee of the Sotheby firm. The names of the purchasers (some in abbreviated form) are also recorded by hand as are the prices paid for the individual lots in pounds, shillings, and pence. These have been transcribed and will appear in three columns with the buyer's name following his successful bid. Any manuscript annotations that appear in the printed text of the catalogue have been placed in square brackets after the description of the lot in the transcription that follows. In general, no attempt has been made to reproduce the manuscript or printed lines, horizontal or vertical, which are mere guides or space-fillers. The casual and nonsignificant pointing after numerals and the check marks that rather regularly appear at the ends of lines have also been ignored.

#### ADDENDUM

A letter received recently from Dr. A. N. L. Munby, the authority on nineteenth-century book sales, provided me with some helpful information, for which I am grateful, about the mysterious letter symbols in the catalogue. These letters, it seems, are actually code

prices entered either by the auctioneer or by a bookseller attending the sale who did not wish the marks in his catalogue to be understood by someone looking over his shoulder. Dr. Munby informs me that Sotheby & Co. still uses a code of this kind.

## NOTES

1. I wish to thank the authorities of the British Museum for supplying me with a copy of the original sale catalogue. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the title page of this catalogue.
2. The shortness of Clarke's neck and body together with his large head reminded Beckford of the shape of a mushroom.
3. *Life at Fonthill 1807-1822 . . . From the Correspondence of William Beckford*, trans. and ed. Boyd Alexander (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957), pp. 199-200.
4. See my articles "The Beckford Book Sale of 1804," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (forthcoming) and "The Beckford Book Sale of 1808," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, LXIV (Second Quarter, 1970), 127-164. The 1804 catalogue was disguised as *A Catalogue of the Select and Valuable Library of Scarce and Curious Books of a Gentleman, lately deceased . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction, By Leigh, Sotheby, and Son . . . On Thursday the 24th and Saturday the 26th Days of May, 1804, at Twelve o'Clock*; the 1808 catalogue appeared as *A Catalogue of a Valuable and Elegant Collection of Books . . . Being a Portion of the Library of a very Distinguished Collector, brought from his Seat in Wiltshire . . . Which Will Be Sold By Auction By Leigh and S. Sotheby . . . on Thursday, 9th June, 1808, and Two following Days, at 12 o'Clock*.
5. Obtained from the copy owned by the Houghton Library at Harvard. This copy contains the prices paid for the lots but does not include the purchasers' names. This copy also shows an imprint which evidently has been cropped from the British Museum copy. It reads: "WRIGHT and MURPHY, Printers, 31, Little Queen Street, Holborn, London."



A  
CATALOGUE  
OF  
A PORTION OF  
THE LIBRARY  
OF  
WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq.  
*Of Fonthill;*

Comprising many valuable Articles in Topography, History and Antiquities, mostly chosen Copies, on LARGE PAPER, with Duplicate Proofs, and in the finest condition.

ORIGINAL CHINESE AND HINDU DRAWINGS,  
*From the Collections of Van Braam, Bradshaw and Polier; superb Works in Natural History, &c. sumptuously bound.*

In the Collection are, HOGARTH'S WORKS, a complete set, with many curious variations of impression, and some Original Drawings by the late Mr. STEEVENS and Mr. HENDERSON; SMITH'S mezzotinto PORTRAITS, with many proofs; NICHOLS' HISTORY OF LEICESTERSHIRE, 8 vol. LARGE PAPER; BIBLIOTHECA TOPOGRAPHICA, complete, 10 vol.; HUTCHINS' HISTORY OF DORSET, 4 vol. LARGE PAPER; BUCK'S VIEWS, 6 vol. *subscription edition*; AUBREY'S SURREY, 5 vol. LARGE PAPER, *morocco*; VOYAGE PITTORESQUE DE NAPLES, &c. *proof impressions, morocco*; the WORKS OF TOBIAS STIMER, 1200 wood cuts, *superbly bound*; CHINESE BATTLES and CONQUESTS, *proofs, the finest extant, &c. &c. &c.*

WHICH WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION,  
BY MR. SOTHEY,

BOOKSELLER, at his House, 145, STRAND,  
opposite Catherine Street,

ON TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1817, and Two following  
Days, at 12 o'Clock.

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To be viewed on Friday, May 2, to the Time of Sale, and Catalogues (price 6d.) to be had at the Place of Sale.

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## CONDITIONS OF SALE.

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- I. THE highest Bidder to be the Buyer; and if any Dispute arises between two or more Bidders, the Lot so disputed shall be immediately put up again and re-sold.
- II. No Person to advance less than 6d.; above One Pound 1s.; above Five Pounds 2s. 6d. and so in Proportion.
- III. The Purchasers to give in their Names and Places of Abode, and to pay down 5s. in the Pound, in Part of Payment of the Purchase-money; in Default of which, the Lot or Lots so purchased to be immediately put up again and re-sold.
- IV. The Lots to be taken away, at the Buyer's Expence, within three Days after the Conclusion of the Sale, and the Remainder of the Purchase-money to be absolutely paid on or before Delivery.
- V. The Books are presumed to be perfect, unless otherwise expressed; but if upon collating, AT THE PLACE OF SALE, any should prove defective, the Purchasers will be at Liberty to take or reject them.
- VI. Upon Failure of complying with the above Conditions, the Money deposited in Part of Payment shall be forfeited; and all Lots uncleared within the Time aforesaid shall be re-sold by public or private Sale, and the Deficiency (if any) on such Re-sale shall be made good by the Defaulters at this Sale.

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Gentlemen who cannot attend the Sale may have their Commissions faithfully executed by their humble Servant,

S. SOTHEBY,  
145, STRAND.

*N.B. No Books will be delivered without being first paid for and it is requested that Gentlemen will clear their Books, and settle their Accounts at the Conclusion of each Sale.*

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A

# CATALOGUE, &c.

## First Day's Sale.

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OCTAVO ET INFRA.

LOT

[£] [s.] [d.] [Purchaser]

1	<b>H</b> OYERI Flammulæ Amoris S. Augustini, <i>fig. red mor.</i> Antv. 1629	5	6	Shettel
2	Achilles Tatiüs de Clitophontis et Leucippes amoribus, Gr. et Lat. <i>red mor.</i> Lug. Bat. 1640	8		Lowell
3	David duodecim Specula, <i>fig.</i> Antv. 1610	3		Longman
4	Psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, a Buchanano, <i>red mor.</i> H. et R. Steph. [n.d.]	5		Ryan
5	L'Adone, poema del Marino, <i>fig. de le Clerc</i> , 4 tom. <i>blue mor.</i> [ei/Thorp—in ms.] Amst. Elsev. 1678	2		L <sup>d</sup> Brownlow
6	Tasso Gierusalemme Liberata, <i>fig. de le Clerc</i> , 2 tom. <i>blue mor.</i> ib. 1678	1	14	Do
7	Guarini Il Pastor Fido, <i>fig. de le Clerc</i> , <i>blue mor.</i> ib. 1678	18		Do
8	Tasso Aminta, <i>fig. de le Clerc</i> , <i>blue mor.</i> ib. 1678	14		Do
9	Bonarelli Filli di Sciro, <i>fig. de le Clerc</i> , <i>blue mor.</i> ib. 1678	9		Do
10	L'Adonc, poema del Marino, <i>red mor.</i> 2 tom. ib. 1651	15		Shettel



11	Dante, <i>red mor.</i>	Aldo, 1502	18	Williams
12	Oeuvres de Moliere, <i>avec fig. de J. Punt</i> , 4 tom. <i>red mor.</i>	Amst. 1741	2 16	Do
13	Les Propheties de Nostradamus, <i>front. et port.</i> <i>gilt leaves [b/Thorp—in ms.]</i>	Amst. (Elzev.) 1668	9	Rice
		£	11 14 6	

[Page] ( 2 )

		£	11 14 6	
14	Les Emblemes d'Amour Divin et Humain, <i>gilt leaves</i>	Paris, chez Mariette, [n.d.]	17	Roberts
15	Dusaulz Voyage a Barege et dans les Hautes Pyrénées, 2 tom en 1	Paris, 1791	4 6	Dulan
16	Oeuvres de Gresset, <i>fig.</i> 2 tom. [ <i>ei/EL—in ms.</i> ] Lond. (Paris) 1780		11	E. Littledale
17	La Duchesse de la Vallière [sic], par Mad. Genlis, <i>fine paper, ports. yellow mor.</i>	Paris, 1804	12 6	Carpenter
18	Contes de la Fontaine, <i>fig. de Rom. de Hooge</i> , first edition, 2 tom. en 1, <i>red mor. a very fine copy</i> [ <i>er/EL—in ms.</i> ]	Amst. 1685	2 9	Merideth
19	Contes et Nouvelles de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre, <i>fig. de Rom. de Hooge</i> , first edition, 2 tom. <i>red mor. very fine</i> [ <i>n/r/</i> <i>EL—in ms.</i> ]	ib. 1698	3 8	Do
20	Huetiana, LARGE PAPER, <i>red mor.</i> [ <i>e/grant—in</i> <i>ms.</i> ]	Paris, 1722	11	Beltz
21	Gmelin Voyage en Siberie, <i>fig.</i> 2 tom	ib. 1767	1 3	Triphook
22	Petrone, Lat. Franc. <i>fig.</i> [ <i>d/EL—in ms.</i> ] Cologne, 1694		5	Hallam
23	Huet de la Situation du Paradis Terrestre, <i>avec</i> <i>carte, red mor.</i>	Paris, 1691	6 6	Longman
24	Vie de Guzman d'Alfarache, <i>avec fig.</i> 3 tom [ <i>er/EL †/ — in ms.</i> ]	Amst. 1744	18	Do
25	Poesies du Roy de Navarre, 2 tom. <i>mor.</i> [ <i>k/d/EL—in ms.</i> ]	Paris, 1742	2 3	N
26	Description de la Ville d'Amsterdam, en vers burlesques, par Pierre le Jolle, <i>blue mor.</i>	Amst. 1666	12	Shettel

- 27 Mœurs, Usages, Costumes des Othomans, par  
Castellan, avec 72 fig. 6 tom. en 5, gilt leaves  
Paris, 1812 1 16 N
- 28 Chef-d'Oeuvres de P. Corneille, LARGE PAPER,  
red mor. Oxford, 1746 1 10 Williams
- 29 Oeuvres Choiesies de l'Abbé Prevost, avec fig.  
39 tom red mor. FINE PAPER, first impressions  
of the plates, extremely rare upon this paper  
Paris, 1784 19 19 Triphook
- 30 ————— le Sage, avec fig. 15  
tom. red mor. FINE PAPER, extremely rare, first  
impressions of the plates ib. 1783 14 3 6 Dulau
- 31 Les Bigarrures [sic] et Touches du Seign. des  
Accords, 2 tom. red mor. best edition [n/Thorp  
—in ms.] ib. 1662 1 11 6 Triphook

## QUARTO.

- 32 New Picture of the Isle of Wight, with views,  
etched by Cooke, and a duplicate set of proofs,  
gilt leaves 1808 5 12 6 White P
- 33 Gillingwaters Account of Lowestoff [n.d.] 12 6 J. Morice
- 34 Herbert's Antiquities of the Inns of Court and  
Chancery, with views, proofs, on India paper,  
russia 1804 2 4 White P
- 35 Carew's Survey of Cornwall, with Notes by  
Tonkin, LARGE PAPER 1811 1 11 6 Mrs Priestley
- 36 Kennedy's Description of the Antiquities and  
Curiosities in Wilton House, plates, red mor.  
1769—Creed's Etchings of the Statues at  
Wilton, with several original drawings added,  
red mor. from Dr. Chauncy's collection. 2 vol.  
1731 9 Triphook

## [Page] ( 3 )

- 37 Grose's Treatise on Ancient Armour, plates,  
russia £ 83 15 6  
1786 4 5 Triphook
- 38 ————— Military Antiquities, 2 vol. plates,  
russia [JL d/†/ r/-/ — in ms.] 1786 6 16 6 St S Clarke

- 39 Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, 2 vol.  
*plates, russia* Carlisle, 1794 5 15 6 Akers
- 40 Fosbrooke's History of Gloucestershire, 2 vol.  
 LARGE PAPER, *plates* [E/e/w/m(?)—in *ms.*]  
 Gloucester, 1807 3 10 Dr Vaughan  
 White P
- 41 Stoever's Life of Linnæus, *port, russia* 1794 18
- 42 Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, 2 vol.  
 [Fnyth N/n/ n/-/EL n/er/JL — in *ms.*]  
 1776 4 4 Corrie
- 43 Hutchinson's History of the County of Durham,  
 3 vol. *plates and duplicates of portraits, russia*  
 Newcastle, 1784 12 L<sup>d</sup> Bridgewater
- 44 Borlase's Ancient and Present State of the Scilly  
 Islands, *plts.* Oxford, 1756 11 6 Ponton
- 45 Phillips' History and Antiquities of Shrewsbury,  
*plates* Shrewsb. 1779 18 N
- 46 Willis' Survey of the Cathedrals, 2 vol. LARGE  
 PAPER, *plates and port.* 1727 8 18 6 Beltz
- 47 Barrett's History and Antiquities of Bristol,  
*plates, russia* Bristol, 1789 2 4 Dimsdale
- 48 Williams' History of Monmouthshire, *plates*  
 [w/n(?) LP — in *ms.*] 1796 2 12 6 [Name omitted]
- 49 Charlton's History of Whitby and Whitby  
 Abbey, *map and plates* [K/-/JL—in *ms.*]  
 York, 1779 1 2 Payne
- 50 Tindal's History and Antiquities of Evesham,  
*plates, fine paper, russia* Evesham, 1794 1 9 Corrie
- 51 Warner's History of Bath, *port. and plates,*  
 LARGE PAPER, *uncut, very rare* Bath, 1801 2 14 White
- 52 Rastall's History of the Antiquities of Southwell,  
*port, and plates, LARGE PAPER, russia* 1787 4 16 L<sup>d</sup> Brownlow
- 53 Plaw's Ferme Ornée, or Designs for Parks and  
 Plantations, *plates* 1795 15 S
- 54 Darell's History of Dover Castle, published by  
 Grose, *plates, LARGE PAPER, gilt leaves* 1786 2 3 Ponton
- 55 Brewster's History of Stockton upon Tees, *plts.*  
 LARGE PAPER 1796 1 3 Lane
- 56 Warner Antiquitates Culinariæ 1791 3 5 Parker
- 57 Harwood's History and Antiquities of Lichfield,  
*plates, LARGE PAPER, very rare, only twelve*  
*copies printed, russia* Gloucester, 1806 7 7 Triphook

- 58 Howard's History of the Lazarettos, *plates, russia*  
*Warrington, 1789* 1 3 Lane
- 59 Kippis' Life of Captain Cook, *port. LARGE*  
*PAPER, half mor. [et/EL—in ms.] 1788* 1 18 Triphook
- 60 British Autography; or Portraits and Fac-similes  
of the Hand Writings of Royal and  
Illustrious Personages, *with numerous duplicate*  
*proofs on India paper, by Thane, 3 vol. a*  
*remarkable copy [ei-/JL—in ms.] [n.d.]* 29 8 L<sup>d</sup> Brownlow
- 61 Edwards' Natural History with Gleanings, and  
Brown's Zoology, *an original copy, coloured*  
*by the Author, with his Life, 7 vol. in 4,*  
*russia [eb-/JL—in ms.] 1743* 30 9 L<sup>d</sup> Bridgewater

[Page] ( 4 )

- 62 The Earl of Carlisle's Father's Revenge, a  
Tragedy, and Poems, *fine plates designed by*  
*Westall, and port. of the Author, proof, not*  
*published, red morocco 1800* 5 18 White P
- 63 Donovan's Natural History of the Insects of  
China, *coloured, green morocco 1798* 5 7 6 S<sup>r</sup> S Clarke
- 64 Silius Italicus, cura Drakenborch, *LARGE PAPER,*  
*in russia, bound by Roger Payne, with his Bill*  
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[Page] ( 10 )

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- 204 Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna, ab Erico Dalberg,  
*fig. mult.* 3 tom. en I, *fol. oblong, very rare*  
Holmiæ, 1695, &c. 2 2 [Name omitted]
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modernes remarquables par leur beauté, &c.  
*fig. fol. gr.* 2 vol. en I, *red morocco*  
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211	4	68 —————		21			Ridgeway
212	5	48 ————— and					
			some Fruits	16	16		White
	[188—in ms.]						
213	6	48 —————		20	9	6	White
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215	8	50 ————— Zoology,					
			chiefly Birds	26	15	6	White
216	9	60 Paintings of Birds		33	12		White
217	10	60 ————— and					
			Botany.	31	10		White
218	11	46 Botany and Zoology,					
			Birds and Snakes.	23	12	6	White
219	12	56 Zoology and Botany.		47	5		White
220	13	18 —————		17	6	6	White
	[Total of Second Day's Sale] £ 1132 16 6						

# Third Day's Sale.

## OCTAVO ET INFRA.

LOT		[£]	[s.]	[d.]	[Purchaser]
221	CAESAR <i>Lug. Bat. Elzevir, 1635</i>	9	6		Glen
222	Plinii Historia Naturalis, 3 tom. <i>red mor.</i> [K/b/Boone—in ms.] <i>ib. 1635</i>	2	4		J. Lloyd
223	Claudianus, Heinsii, <i>red mor.</i> <i>ib. 1650</i>	1	7		Ryan
224	Horatius, Heinsii, <i>blue mor.</i> <i>ib. 1629</i>		18		Vigors
225	Virgilius, Heinsii, <i>editio vera, blue mor.</i> <i>ib. 1636</i>	1	15		Triphook
226	Prudentius, Heinsii, <i>red mor.</i> <i>Amst. Elzevir, 1667</i>	1			Do
227	Florus, <i>red mor.</i> <i>Lug. Bat. Elzevir, 1638</i>	6	6		Longman
228	Novum Testamentum Graec. <i>red mor.</i> [eb/Boone—in ms.] <i>ib. 1633</i>	1	5		Trippass
229	Statius, <i>red mor.</i> <i>Venet. Aldus, 1502</i>	1	14		Longman
230	Lucretius, <i>yellow mor.</i> <i>ib. 1515</i>		15	6	Do
231	Smids Pictura Loquens, <i>fig. Schoonebeeck</i> [b/r/Boone—in ms.] <i>Amstel. 1695</i>		6		M
232	Amoris Divini et Humani Emblemata, <i>fig.</i> <i>Antv. 1629</i>		10		Triphook
233	Poemata trium fratrum Belgarum. <i>with the three</i> <i>fine ports. gilt leaves</i> [K/ek/r grant—in ms.] <i>Lug. Bat. 1612</i>		19		Grant
234	Theatrum Tragicum Actorum Londini publice celebrat. <i>with ports. and a view of the</i> <i>execution of Charles I. blue mor.</i> [F(?)/r/wl— in ms.] <i>Amstel. 1649</i>	4	4		Longman
235	Claudianus, cum notis Var. <i>best edit. red mor.</i> [grant i/r/—in ms.] <i>Amst. 1665</i>	1	16		Grant

236	Apuleius Pricæi, <i>cum effige, red mor.</i> LARGE PAPER	Goudæ, 1650	2	2	L <sup>d</sup> Brownlow
237	Macrobius, <i>cum notis Var. best edition</i>	Lug. Bat. 1670		10	Vigors
238	Apicius de Arte Coquinaria, Listeri, LARGE PAPER,	Amst. 1709	2	2	L <sup>d</sup> Brownlow
239	Riccii Triumphus Jesu Christi Crucifixi, <i>with plates by Adr. Collaert</i>	Antv. 1608		15 6	Chetwin
240	Lowth de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum, <i>cum notis Michaelis, 2 tom.</i>	Goett. 1770		10 6	Hayes
		[£]	25	9 6	

[Page] ( 13 )

			[£]	25	9	6	
241	Lucretius, curâ Maittaire, LARGE PAPER, <i>red morocco</i>	Lond.	1713	1	2		Payne
242	Terentius, <i>red mor.</i>	Edinburgi,	1758	1	4		Carpenter
243	Statius, <i>red mor.</i>	Aldus,	1519	1	1		Hayes
244	Sophoclis Tragœdiæ Septem, Gr. <i>blue mor.</i>	ib.	1502	1	10		Vigors
245	Lucretius, <i>red mor.</i>	ib.	1515		19		Longman
246	Livius, <i>yellow mor.</i> [eo/r Shettel — in ms.]	Amst. Elzevir,	1678	1	9		Hayes
247	Ciceronis Opera, 10 tom. <i>blue mor.</i>	Lug. Bat. Elz.	1642	6			Triphook
248	Juvenalis et Persii Satiræ, recensuit N. L. Achaintre, 2 tom. <i>on fine paper</i> [K/K/W— in ms.]	Paris, Didot,	1810	1	1		Chetwin [Evans lined out]
249	Virgilius, curâ H. Justice, 5 tom. LARGE PAPER, <i>printed on one side, red mor.</i>	Brux. [n.d.]		2	12	6	Lowell
250	Horatius, <i>æneis tabulis</i> , incidit J. Pine, 2 tom <i>first edition, red mor.</i> [N/t/Boone—in ms.]	Lond.	1733	3	15		Hayes
251	Virgilius, <i>æneis tabulis</i> , incidit J. Pine, <i>red mor.</i>	ib.	1755	1	11	6	Trippass
252	De Re Rustica Scriptores, <i>red mor.</i> [n/r Dale—in ms.]	Venet. Aldus,	1514		16	6	Vigors
253	Ammianus Marcellinus, cum notis Wagneri et Erfurdt, 3 t.	Lipsiæ,	1808	1	4		Vigors

254	Suetonius, Oudendorpii et Dukeri	Lug. Bat. 1751	13	Chetwin
255	Juvenalis et Persius, <i>fig.</i>			
	<i>Cantab. Gul. Sandby, 1763</i>			
256	Virgilius, <i>fig.</i> 2 tom.	Lond. Gul. Sandby, 1750		
257	Terentius, 2 tom.	ib. 1751	3	Hayes
258	Horatius, 2 tom. <i>fig.</i>	ib. 1749	3	
259	Petronius, cum notis Var. <i>best edition, red mor.</i>			
	( <i>Count Hoym's Copy</i> ) [ <i>i/e/Grant i/i AL—</i>			
	<i>in ms.</i> ]	Amst. 1669	2	Grant

## QUARTO.

260	Lastanosa Museo de las Medallas Desconocidas Espanolas, <i>fig. gilt leaves, Huesca, 1645, from the collection of Girardot de Prefond</i> [n.d.]	1	16		Triphook
261	Histoire des Ordres Religieux, <i>fig. gravées par Fialetti, rus.</i> Paris, 1658		13		Longman
262	Relations Curieuses de Madagascar et du Bresil— Histoire des Troubles du Bresil, <i>avec cartes, red mor.</i> Paris, 1651	2	12	6	N
263	Recueil des Voyages en Afrique et en Amerique, <i>avec cartes et fig. gilt leaves</i> ib. 1674	1	11	6	N
264	Voyage de Siam, des Peres Jesuites, par Tachard, <i>fig. 2 t. blue mor. [i/i/AL—in ms.]</i> ib. 1686	4	10		N
265	Les Heros de la Ligue ou la Procession Monacale pour la conversion des Protestans, 24 <i>caricature ports. blue mor.</i> [n/en/r AL—in ms.] ib. 1691	5	5		Thorp
266	Histoire des Isles de l'Amerique, par du Testre, <i>cartes, gilt leaves</i> ib. 1654	1			Longman
267	Belon Observations de plus singularitez trouvées en Grece, &c. <i>wood cuts, with the chart of the Isle of Lemnos, and View of Mount Sinai, green mor.</i> ib. 1588	3	3		Longman
		[£.]	76	5	

		[£]	76	5	
268	Belon Portraits d'oyseaux, Animaux, Serpens, Hommes et Femmes d'Arabie et Egypte, <i>wood cuts, green mor.</i>	Paris, 1557	2	2	Triphook
269	Chiffletii Vesontio Civitas Imperialis Libera, <i>fig.</i>	Lugd. 1618	8	6	Chetwin
270	Silvester de Symbolis Heroicis, <i>fig. russia</i>	Antv. 1634	1	3	Triphook
271	Jacobi, Nob. Dani, Hodæporicon Ruthenicum, <i>fine plates by de Bry, red mor. extremely rare</i>	Francof. 1608	1	6	Bohn
272	Schoonhovii Emblemata, <i>fig. red mor.</i>	Goudæ, 1618	12	6	Bohn
273	Boissardi Emblemata, <i>with plates, by de Bry, red mor.</i>	Francof. 1593	19		Bohn
274	Vaticinia sive Prophetiæ Abbatis Joachimi, <i>fig.</i>	Venet. Porro, 1589	8		Bohn
275	Loniceri Venatus et Aucupium; acced. Gratius de Venatione, <i>first edition, wood cuts, green mor.</i>	Francof. 1582	2	7	Triphook
276	De Bry Emblemata Sæcularia, <i>fig. de Th. et Jo. de Bry, the Soubise copy, very rare [n/n/AL— in ms.]</i>	ib. 1596	3	13	6 Fowles
277	Tomasini Petrarcha Redivivus, <i>fig.</i>	Patav. 1650	4		Triphook
278	Blommaert Sylva Anachoretica, <i>plates by Bolsvert,</i>	Antv. 1619	13		Bramston
279	Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica, <i>fig. gilt leaves,</i>	Venet. 1601	10		Akers
280	Epistolæ Basilii Magni, Libanii, Isocratis et Aliorum, Græcé	Venet. Aldus, 1499	7	6	Hayes
281	——— Diversorum Philosophorum, Oratorum, &c. Græcé	ib. [n.d.]	10		Vigors
282	Dionysius de Situ Orbis, ex versione Bechariæ, <i>first edition,</i>	Venet, 1478	1	0	Boswell
283	Apollonius Rhodius, curâ Brunck, LARGE PAPER, <i>red mor.</i>	Argent. 1780	1	3	Hayes
284	Pignorii Mensa Isiaca, <i>fig. gilt leaves</i>	Amst. 1669	10	6	Fowles

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*Lemgov.* 1712 1 2 Fowles
- 286 Apuleius, in usum Delphini, *a very fine copy*  
*[i/i/AL—in ms.]* Paris, 1683 2 3 Glen

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## [Page ( 15 )]

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[Page ( 17 )]

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[Total of Third Day's Sale] £ 1308 15 6					
	First Days Sale	[£]	639	2	
	Second Days Sale		1132	16	6
	Third Days Sale		1308	15	6
	[Total of Sale]	£	3080	14	

# Theodore Dreiser's Editorial and Free-Lance Writing

YOSHINOBU HAKUTANI\*

READERS, even scholars, of Dreiser have scarcely noted the significance of the writing he did before *Sister Carrie*, his first novel. Indeed, the period between 1895 and 1899, between his withdrawal from newspaper work and his first attempt to write fiction, is quite different from the rest of his career. It was during this time that Dreiser had firmly made up his mind to become a novelist, and whatever move he made during these years he was anxiously waiting for an opportunity to write as uninhibitedly as possible. It is, however, puzzling that the other parts of his life before his resignation from the newspaper profession were specifically and minutely described in his two autobiographies, *Dawn* and *A Book About Myself*, while these years were not discussed in any single work.

Why Dreiser did not discuss his experiences as editor and contributor of magazine articles during the four years before *Sister Carrie* is not known. There are, however, some facts concerning his account of the period. Towards the end of *A Book About Myself* Dreiser tells us that he might relate this part of his career under such a title as "Literary Experiences." It is, further, interesting to note that this project was announced in certain editions of his novels and in some trade publications as being "in preparation" and "ready for the publisher." But the fact remains that no such book was ever published. In reply to John F. Huth, Jr.'s inquiry, Dreiser's secretary wrote in 1936: "As to a book on his literary experiences, Mr. Dreiser is very very uncertain as to whether and when it will appear."<sup>1</sup> Dreiser was extremely reticent about his activities during these years. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether he thought these four years unimportant for his career as a novelist or preferred to remain silent for some other reasons.

At any rate, in the fall of 1895 his brother Paul introduced Dreiser to Howley, Haviland & Company, which was planning to publish a musical and literary magazine. Dreiser was appointed as the "editor

\*Associate Professor of English, Kent State University.

and arranger" of the proposed magazine, which he entitled *Ev'ry Month*.<sup>2</sup> It was in this magazine that, for example, the famous song, "On the Banks of the Wabash, Far Away," and such a story as Stephen Crane's "A Mystery of Heroism" (later included in *The Little Regiment*) were first published. Here, too, Dreiser published the so-called "Reflections," the editorial feature that is perhaps the most significant evidence of his preoccupations at that time. As his editing developed, he felt restricted by the publisher. When Arthur Henry asked Dreiser in the autumn of 1897 whether he was succeeding as editor, he complained: "I am drawing a good salary. The things I am able to get the boss to publish that I believe in are very few. The rest must tickle the vanity or cater to the foibles and prejudices of readers. From my standpoint, I am not succeeding."<sup>3</sup>

After he completed the issue of *Ev'ry Month* for September 1897, Dreiser worked as a free lance. Evidently, as indicated by Dreiser's own comment on his work as editor, he had a disagreement with the publisher on the magazine's editorial policy, and as a result, he said, he was forced to resign.<sup>4</sup> During the two short years as editor Dreiser achieved a sense of great responsibility as well as having opportunities to visit studios and other editorial offices. And it is reasonable to suppose that his experience with *Ev'ry Month* made possible his connections with Hampton's *Broadway Magazine*, and eventually with the Butterick publications.

Between November 1897 and the autumn of 1899, when he started to write *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser published more than forty articles and poems, chiefly the former, in such periodicals as *Harper's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's*, *Truth*, *Demorest's*, *Metropolitan*, *Ainslee's*, *Your Life*, and *Success*. Ironically, however, Dreiser in his free-lance writing did not succeed in acquiring as much freedom of expression as he had wanted and expected. In fact, most of his articles dealt with factual information on successful men and women in various fields, historic places, factories, workers, and the poor and the oppressed. And in his generalizations he was not so profound as in the reflections he presented in *Ev'ry Month*.

Both in editing *Ev'ry Month* and in writing free-lance articles Dreiser, nonetheless, enjoyed his work, as compared to his struggles as a newspaper reporter in the previous years. The reasons for his decision to leave newspaper work are given in *A Book About Myself*,



published twenty-five years later. But his earliest statement concerning his newspaper experience is found in the issue of *Ev'ry Month* for March 1897. At that time he wrote:

Into what channel do you suppose such journalism as now prevails turns the minds of such innocents . . . ? How quickly must bright conceptions of undefiled progress fade in the light of the actual experiences which young men and women are compelled to encounter in order to build up the great papers of to-day? The stories published, the plots and crimes unravelled, the functions most largely described—how do these operate upon and affect the minds engaged in the work of gathering the details? Surely, it cannot be said that they work to the mind's advantage.<sup>5</sup>

In newspaper writing he would insert occasionally the idea that the world about him was not as roseate as his newspaper editors thought it was. But here in magazine articles he wrote as forcefully as he wished of the ideas that he had built up for many years. It is here that he found an outlet in freer writings on political, social, economic, and literary subjects. We can also discover in these writings a clearer definition of his philosophy of life, a vacillation between his pessimistic and optimistic attitudes towards man's life, and finally a glimpse of his fundamental theory of fiction.

## II

When Dreiser first read Herbert Spencer, as he related later, Spencer's ideas on man's relationship to nature "quite blew [him], intellectually, to bits" (*A Book About Myself*, p. 457). This was a lasting impression which remained deep in his mind during the subsequent years preceding his creative writing. And it is safe to suppose that this impression provided the philosophy of determinism that would influence his novels throughout almost his entire career.

Three years after the original impact from Spencer, Dreiser often showed this influence. Thus, he wrote in praise of Spencer:

. . . He is a great father of knowledge, and his word is to be spread before all; but at present many are too young to understand him, and many more too idle to heed. But the young and the truants will all gather about his teachings after a while, and then the world will be vastly better. . . .

His is generalship of the mind—the great captaincy of learning and literature, the field-marshalship of the forces of reason. . . . He learned where



the sands are, and where the stars, and where the types and tribes and races. By long and patient study he learned of the nations, their lives and deeds, and of the men of nations, and of the deeds and accomplishments of men. Through the long ages he traced the progress of this circular earth of ours, and found where it came from and to where it is going, and all that which sunlight has done and is doing for it. . . . Everything submitted to him; each province of knowledge took its subordinate place in his empire of the mind; everything fell into his order and scheme, and he has now proceeded to rule in peace. . . . Spencer has pointed the history of the past—it is he who has defined our puny place in the world and the universe; it is he who has bound our minds together into one empire, and pointed the path along which progress is easiest and best. All life has been comprehended best by him. He has explained the value of the things that are, and the purposes for which they are intended. Rain, sunlight, the seasons; charity, generosity, virtue,—all these are set down in their true order, and having established the empire of mind, he invites you, as subjects, to acquaint yourselves with its laws. They are unalterable laws, these of the empire. (*Ev'ry Month*, III, v, 3-4)

Spencer could be compared to Napoleon, according to Dreiser, in the sense that, as Napoleon studied the military map of Europe, so Spencer examined the intellectual map of the world. As Cyrus united Persia, so Spencer united the world. When Cyrus united Persia, it was years before the union was known by all. In the same way, Dreiser maintained, Spencer united the world of knowledge, and his pupils were going forth into far-reaching regions for the proclamation of Spencer's laws and his fame. Time must pass before his doctrine would completely be known and all mankind would conform to the universal laws.

Dreiser's mission as a faithful disciple of Spencer can be seen in his free-lance article in the *Metropolitan Magazine* in 1898. In this article Dreiser admitted that the assertion that America was taking but moderate interest in scientific discoveries was still bandied about more or less among the uninformed. But, pointing out the expeditions conducted under the auspices of New York's American Museum of Natural History, he stated his confidence that America was one of the foremost among the nations interested in the advancement of science. In a quarry located in Wyoming the expeditions made an unexpected discovery of two reptile skeletons. He expressed the hope that, when the collections were completed, one could learn a great

deal about the physical species of man as well as man's relation to nature. "The object of the Museum," Dreiser reported, "is to make plain the evolutionary idea, so that every one may see the order in which animals have developed. . . . From these cases [containing skeletons] the student may learn of the endless ages that have already gone by, the enormous monsters that appeared and disappeared with succeeding cycles. Beginning with the perissodactyls, the order of evolution is shown, step after step, by skeletons of animals with immense scientific names, until at some distance in the chain the early rhinoceros is shown, and still later in the chain the early form of the horse."<sup>6</sup> As late as June of 1900 Dreiser was interested in the evolutionary theory, an interest evidenced by another article, entitled "The Descent of the Horse."<sup>7</sup>

From the reference to the change in animals through time and environment, Dreiser called his readers' attention to the condition of man. To Darwin and his spokesmen, Spencer and Huxley, man was as susceptible as animals to forces in the environment. Dreiser, moreover, believed that man was essentially a solitary animal struggling to survive in a world controlled by cold impersonality. What made him wonder, first of all, was those impersonal and indifferent forces in nature. He thought about Tyndall, who, after being for many years in awe of the Alps, upon which time seemed to have no effect, observed how torn and deprived the Matterhorn was and came to realize how strong the influence of natural forces was, even on inanimate objects. "At St. Louis," said Dreiser, "the wind rises, rain and hail sweep onward, and a few hundred are lacerated beneath the ruins of their habitations, whereon the sun rises on the morrow and shines, and in life there is no difference." In conclusion, he was convinced that man is the sport of nature and a necessary yet worthless dust in the scheme of nature. At any moment man may be completely obliterated so that "some element or force may complete its mission unimpeded" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 5).

On the basis of such deterministic views, there was absolutely no room left for orthodox religious feelings. Dreiser thus pointed out that, because of presumptuous power and unjustifiable pride, men have protected themselves against the fact that they were not particularly considered in the great scheme of nature and have believed that their power must be guaranteed and specifically guarded by a higher

power. In reality, he asserted, they could be swept to nothingness by simple wind or water, could be destroyed by the fall of a stone or annihilated by contagious diseases. These phenomena, he felt, have ever proved repugnant to these men, and "they have built up a faith that takes account of them and their deeds, and makes of them agents instead of mere clods in the scheme of the universe" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 6).

Conscious of the natural conditioning of man, Dreiser became inevitably aware of the social conditioning of individuals and ultimately of the historical complexities that make understandable the uniqueness of each individual experience in American society. It is quite possible that Dreiser at this time, despite his predilection for natural law, became more interested in a world of social and historical individuals. Indeed, the America described by Dreiser in *Sister Carrie* and *Jennie Gerhardt* may be primarily this world of social and historical individuals. Thus Dreiser at this time expressed his feeling that "man seems not only the sport of nature, but of his fellowmen" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 5). Dreiser asked:

Do you not know that human beings are innately greedy—avaricious? Do you not know that they dream of fine clothes and fine houses and of rolling about luxuriously in carriages while others beg along their pathway? Will you not realize that some will stoop to anything for this, will lie, will steal, yes murder, to make this dream come true? Are you unaware that the strongest are sore tempted by money and offers of place and name, and will you then let the affairs of your country fall into the hands of those who will not stop at aught to gain their shameless ends? (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 2)

Dreiser would hasten to point out that our society has the influential charitable organizations distributing aid to the needy, the police courts consigning the oppressed to the workhouse and the weak to the hospital, and the general public helping others without any pharisaical discrimination. And yet the unfit were bound to be the castaways, while the fit survived the most severe conditions. The fit creature was either fit to make money, or to beg it, or to steal. Whatever his methods, he was fit to gain what he needed and keep himself intact. "It is the fit creature," wrote Dreiser, "who manipulates bank, mining, or general market stock, and puts the acquired wealth between himself and possible destitution, and equally is it the fit crea-

ture who steals when hunger threatens, and he who employs weapons and becomes a noiseless footpad when anything is to be gained and the discomfort of poverty is to be set aside. Both classes are not 'fit' in the same degree, but in the theory of their fitness to survive there is no flaw" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, v, 4). The fit somehow operated in keeping body and soul together; they would not hesitate and retreat, because hesitancy and retreating caused bodily injury. They would complete their action, whether it was good or evil, and by doing good or evil they survived, the result that proved their fitness.

As a prime example of the unfit, Dreiser chose a news article which disclosed the shocking arrest of a man named Wilson. The story goes that a weak, short man, four feet, three inches tall, was arrested by the police one night and brought into a court, charged with vagrancy. Neighborhood citizens had noticed that the arrested man spent his nights rummaging in garbage cans and devouring parts of discarded food. When a policeman approached him, the man slunk away like a hunted animal, staggered and fell against a post and hurt his head. Wilson's hair was found to be eighteen inches long, and his beard had not been shaved for so long that his face could hardly be seen. He wore no shirt and was wrapped in a torn coat and a pair of ragged trousers. A pair of soles which had once been attached to shoes were now tied to his feet. At the police station Wilson complained that, because he was unable to get work or aid, he was compelled to go to the garbage cans in order to avoid starvation.

A spectacle projecting "the survival of the fittest" was also found in the economic world. Accusing the trust combine of being selfish and heartless and harmful to individuals, Dreiser saw it as a sign of economic struggle for money and power. It was, however, admitted that the trust operated according to the very law and nature of commerce. Dreiser's explanation was that, if two or more men combined their faculties and capital in one business, incorporating two or more businesses in one trust would naturally prove more effective. The purpose in each case was exactly the same. All desired money; all desired power; all desired superiority over others. Here again Dreiser cited the principle of life, in which the higher form should live by the death of the lower (*Ev'ry Month*, III, vi, 3).

Although Dreiser accepted the law that the strong prosper at the expense of the weak, he was not so completely satisfied with the universality and the morality of the law for man as we might expect. Indeed, the reason why Dreiser's outlook on man's life in society was not so pessimistic as many critics maintain can be found in many of the statements he made during this period of his writing. In the case of forming the trust, Dreiser readily subscribed to the principle that the higher form of life outlives the lower, and he observed that "the trust is laying claim to be the higher." But if "it is not," Dreiser reasoned, "there are the oppressed free to defend themselves; and if they do not, they merely admit their degradation. If they do, the trust, and those who stand sponsor for it, must be crushed in the struggle. Such a culmination will prove how wrong is the trust, and how right are the many in advocating kindness, generosity, love and mercy" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, vi, 3).

Such human qualities as love and friendship, according to Dreiser, must be considered separately from the law of the survival of the fittest. Dreiser, as editor of a national magazine, called his readers' attention to the evil bred by the competitive life in American society. "No one denies," said Dreiser, "that it was the speculative craze—the restless desire to 'turn a dollar rapidly,' " a statement reminiscent of Mark Twain's satire on Colonel Sellers in *The Gilded Age* some twenty years earlier. He cited as an example the case of a man in New York who tried to make money through insurance by burning others' homes. This criminal was totally unaware that what he did could be done to his own home, his wife, and his children. He only sought money—a better home, fine clothes and food, and a higher station in society. The desire for money was his sole purpose in life, and "he expected money to bring him friends, and comfort, and peace, as so many others vainly expect it." The major trouble in American society, Dreiser thought, stemmed from the fact that almost everybody believed that man's happiness is purchasable. The financier might have mansions, carriages, servants, and numerous visitors, but he had no friends. "They are higher up," Dreiser wrote, "and are allured by the heart alone. He who has given that to his fortune has none for his fellows, and that is often the cost of riches."



Dreiser discovered, as any sensible observer would, that America's commercial success was a paradoxical comment on its moral failure (*Ev'ry Month*, III, v, 2).

In bringing up such an instance Dreiser showed his intention of being a critic of American society. The writer, he felt, ought to study national defects, and it is especially his duty to detect the failings in society which were inconspicuous at present but sure to become paramount issues later. "Rather," Dreiser maintained, "it is a time when all the evils that have sprung up in the last half century of American life should be clearly in view so that each one, realizing that a score of great, distinct questions are awaiting their turn at the ballot, might be all the more determined to despatch whatever problem now confronts him, in order that all others may come up as soon as possible for examination and solution" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, ii, 2).

One of the most persistent evils Dreiser saw in his newspaper days and later as editor and free lance was the centralization of wealth and its result—the arrogance of the rich and the misery of the poor. He observed that in New York, for example, the wealth of a few people was far greater than that of all the rest of the people combined. He often wondered whether "life forms really trend upward and onward, or downward toward mystic annihilation, or merely around and around in a vast, unsatisfactory circle as some of our philosophers see it." This question could never be solved, Dreiser thought, unless education were freely extended to the children of the poor. Those who would refuse to aid education were those who were neglecting to satisfy the instinctive cry for help coming from millions of people now living, as well as from the endless billions of men and women who were yet to be born in America. Those who opposed aid for education, either from ignorance or greed, or what was worse, by connivance, were, in Dreiser's eyes, "criminals of the deepest dye, defying both man and nature and plundering God by taking from man a portion of that eternal right to rise with which his God has so graciously endowed him." And, to Dreiser, these men shall eventually fail. This concentration of wealth was the curse of every civilization. He reminded his readers of the building of huge temples to Baal and Venus, where every right was denied except for the sword and the lash to the savage. Vast palaces had been built for kings and queens, while shelter and bread had been denied to the serfs. "Today," de-

clared Dreiser, "it shows itself in million dollar state capitols, in billion dollar coast defences, in million dollar forts and armories, palaces and libraries, while to the poor are denied a few pitiful schools" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, ii, 4).

That Dreiser always felt sympathy for the underdog can invariably be recognized in the articles he wrote during this period. One night he watched a luxurious function called the Bradley-Martin Ball. Those who were not lucky enough to attend the ball appeared to Dreiser like the swarm of insects crawling in the shadow of the pavements while other insects, unaccountably fluttering in the magnificent glow, were flying around the electric lamps. The unlucky ones might have wondered why their wings were not as active as those of the lucky and why they were excluded from the circle of light, and why they were thus made to crawl and were trampled on. Dreiser's compassion was naturally for those who, watching the throng of gay carriages and hearing the swish of expensive garments and the sound of music, felt the pangs of hunger inside. The poor and the unlucky would wonder by what peculiar arrangement they were thus placed in the world—without and sad instead of within and happy (*Ev'ry Month*, III, vi, 2).

The inequality existing in court trials also became a topic of concern for Dreiser, and certainly disgusted him. As far as penal servitude was concerned, there was no difference between a man who had stolen a pocketbook or a watch and a man who had embezzled from the state a sum of \$100,000 or \$1,000,000. In this connection Dreiser cited as evidence the case of the eight "boodlers" who had defalcated with several million dollars from the treasury of Cook County, Illinois, served only two years in prison, and later opened a gilded resort of vice on Chicago's Clark Street (*Ev'ry Month*, III, ii, 2-3). In many of the court proceedings Dreiser noticed that the accused were confident of the prevalence of right only when they possessed money with which to defend it, while their submission to evident wrong was aggravated by the lack of money.

For these evils in society, however, he never failed to seek means of amelioration. And his constant suggestions for improvement were based on his optimistic attitude concerning the forces in nature and society that would often depress man. As editor of *Ev'ry Month*, Dreiser thus looked for stories in which the theme would reflect "a



sunset glow" which enlightened "the bleakness of the dreary moorland" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 3). He furthermore solicited from his friend Arthur Henry essays titled "The Philosophy of Hope" and "The Good Laugh" in order to reinforce his own optimistic view. Later this optimism could also be detected in his own writing as a novelist. Dreiser would have wanted his readers to realize that Sister Carrie is saved because she is hopeful. Indeed, it now seems easier for us to understand his implication in the novel that, while Hurstwood falls because of disintegration in the mind, Carrie rises because of hope as a basis for her actions.

In his own editorials, too, Dreiser expressed man's hope for progress. "In conclusion," he urged the reader, "let it be accepted that man should be hopeful, and at the same time be ready and willing to do battle for his hopes. For that future which pictures itself to his mind as one of peace after sorrow, and justice after retribution and restitution, let him be ever ready to labor. . . . Through affairs of to-day, he should look as through a field of battle to the fort beyond. Through the mass of arguments and re-statements of conditions, he should look to the principals [sic] and conditions that never change, and by them arrange his conduct" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 7). He accepted the view that men always toiled and progressed towards nothing and thus became wearisome with their worries. But Dreiser reasoned that, as it is, "we are happy in having something which we cannot know, joyous in being subject to greater laws" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, ii, 7). He reminded his readers of the unity in nature—the wide and blue sky, the fair and green fields, the gentle and restful hillsides, the silvery and soothing streams. Should we ask "why" of every piece of evidence of supervision in the universe? Should we depress ourselves by being dissatisfied because our insight into all was impossible, let alone our control over it?

That would be unreasonable to Dreiser, because we would deprive ourselves of "the one sustainer in all trials, faith." Faith has given us all that is necessary to unfold the mysteries, but—he would hasten to point out—not the greatest of all the mysteries. Instead he urged that we should "unravel the tangled affairs of men first, and make them smooth. . . . We will be concerned with making things good, and with living so that things shall be better . . . there will be naught but hope, unfaltering trust and peace" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, ii, 7). One of the

ways in which things could be made good was through the advancement of science and technology. Through science, he thought, man could control some of the natural forces, and "as an earnest part of it man is safe" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 2). As an example, he took up electricity, which would help decipher the mystery of the universe by exploring "the outer darkness and [traversing] the spaces which now seem so immeasurable" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 7).<sup>8</sup> In another article, giving a detailed account of a gun-factory, he concluded that nature seemed to mock this destructive design for which the factory existed. But on second thought Dreiser said, "it is the enemy of war, in that the motive is to make implements wherewith to compel peace." In this view the endless production of guns did not bode ill; to Dreiser, it was even satisfying in that "war by them is made so swift and decisive, that after a while there may be no longer need of war."<sup>9</sup> "The world," Dreiser quoted a Western journal as saying, "is not going downward to ruin, as the writer would have us believe. Everything in this splendid country has an upward trend, despite the wail of the cynics." Instead Dreiser found "a firm and undisturbed faith in nature, and in men true to nature, despite the decay of a few of the species, or schools, or tribes, of which there are so many" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, iv, 7). That man should always keep faith in the grand design of nature rather than be disheartened by its occasional signs of cruelty was Dreiser's answer to the pessimist.

#### IV

As late as July 1899 we can still detect an optimistic attitude towards life. In a vein similar to that of Stephen Crane's "The Open Boat" (1898) Dreiser described the dreadful forces of the sea but with a deliberate hint of optimism:

We sat with subdued spirits at the prow, discussing the dangers of the sea. McLaughlin, who had been five years in the service, told of accidents and disappearances in the past. Out of the night once had rushed a steamer, cutting such a boat as ours in two. One pilot boat that had gone out two years ago had never returned. Not a stick or scrap was found to indicate what had become of her fifteen men. He told how the sounding of the fog-horns had chilled his heart the first year of his service, and how the mournful lapping of the waters had filled him with dread. And, as we looked and saw nothing but blackness, and listened and heard nothing but

the sipping of the still waters, it seemed as though the relentless sea merely waited its time. Some day it would have them all, sailor and cook, and where now were rooms and lockers would be green water and strange fishes.

That night we slept soundly. A fine wind sprang up, and when morning came, we were scurrying home over a threshing sea. We raced past Sandy Hook and put up the bay. By eight o'clock we were at the Narrows, with the Battery in sight. The harbor looked like a city of masts. After the lonely sea, it was alive with a multitude of people. Tugs went puffing by. Scows and steamers mingled. Amid so much life, the sea seemed safe.<sup>10</sup>

Dreiser could believe that what the sea does not maim or destroy, it returns safely to port where a scene of vibrant and unceasing life reasserts man's ability to survive and to hope. Some of the poems Dreiser wrote at this time also dealt with the effect of evil and disaster in man's life but always left the impression that somehow the rightness of man's good cause will triumph in the end.<sup>11</sup> In a poem entitled "Resignation"<sup>12</sup> Dreiser called himself a child of Nature, and this concept of man as under the protective wing of Nature perhaps is implicit in all of his writings in these years. Thus man is not so helpless as Dreiser's reading of Spencer had at first convinced him.

But, in order to be a significant part of Nature, Dreiser felt, man must first understand accurately where he stands in the scheme of Nature. Man ought to recognize that he is mortal and necessarily has limitations. If man realizes his helplessness, then he can progress. In this sense, Spencer's deterministic view was important for man's clear vision of himself. Spencer showed Dreiser how certain beautiful laws existed and how, by these laws, all animate as well as inanimate things had developed and functioned. Dreiser's understanding of Spencer was thus tinged with optimism; as Dreiser wrote, Spencer showed "how life has gradually become more and more complicated, more and more beautiful, and how architecture, sculpture, painting and music have gradually [sic] developed, along with a thousand other features of our life of to-day" (*Ev'ry Month*, II, vi, 4).

At the same time, Dreiser began to think seriously about the duty of an artist. Many of the sketches about people and places he drew in this period contained a strong element of human interest. The down-trodden man named Wilson, for instance, could thus involve a young writer emotionally. But Dreiser was also able to look at Wil-

son in a larger perspective: the latter was now visualized among the numerous shades of human suffering, as many as "the countless tints of a roseate sky," and the numerous grades of poverty as "the hues of a changeful sea" (*Ev'ry Month*, III, i, 7). Literature, as he saw it, and art in all its forms were "that [other realm] of the painter, the artist, the one who saw and reported the non-transitory, and yet transitory too, nature of all our interests and dreams, which observed life as a whole and drew it without a flaw, a fact, missing."<sup>13</sup>

Though he looked at life in his early youth and wrote about it in much the same way as in this period, he could now theorize in the light of Spencer's concept that man's existence is a balance between opposing forces and interests. Dreiser's interpretation of this idea was that without contrast there is no life: as he said, the sketches included in *The Color of a Great City* "are the very antithesis . . . of all that glitter and glister that made the social life of that day so superior."<sup>14</sup> And Dreiser readily applied the theory by asserting that men complaining about the snow storm, for example, were "a bit of dramatic color in the city's life, whatever their sufferings."<sup>15</sup> It was this quality of detachment that permeated Dreiser's vision of the heightened contrasts of life. He could see life whole, yet now without the personal involvement of his previous years. The new sense of detachment unified and strengthened his grasp upon the materials of his work and would be reflected later in his fiction.

## NOTES

1. John F. Huth, Jr., "Theodore Dreiser: 'The Prophet,'" *American Literature*, ix (May 1937), 208. It is also interesting to note that some of Dreiser's letters indicate that he worked on the intended volume to a certain extent. In a letter of October 8, 1920, to Mencken, Dreiser said, "*Literary Experiences* is under way. I do a small bit—now & then. Ah, the opportunity that lies there, my good brother—the nobles of the nineties and nineteen tens! I once thought of a book about Paul. But he appears fairly well drawn in Vol. 1 [.] 2 & 3—youth, fame & death [.]” See *Letters of Theodore Dreiser*, ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), I, 289. On March 10, 1921, he again wrote a letter to Mencken saying, "I have been intending to tell you for some time past that several years before I ever wrote *Newspaper Days* I wrote and laid aside for personal and family reasons volume one [*Dawn*] of what is to be, when completed, a four or five-volume *History of Myself*. Of this series *Newspaper Days* is, of course, volume

- two [later published under the title *A Book About Myself* (New York, 1922)]. Volume three, *Literary Aspirations* was started by me some time ago, but I laid it aside for other work" (*Letters*, I, 354). Still later, on March 25, 1921, in a letter to Curtis Brown, a representative of an English publisher, Dreiser wrote, ". . . I have another matter about which I wish to speak. It is this. Several years ago,—about four—I began, in my spare moments, upon a work which I have entitled *A History of Myself*. Perhaps I had better say *The History*. At any rate it is to be in four or five volumes and volumes one and two are now done and a third is under way. The titles are *Youth* [*Dawn*], *Newspaper Days* [*A Book About Myself*], *Literary Ambitions*, *Literary Experiences*, and then one other volume, the character of which I have not, as yet, decided upon" (*Letters*, I, 359).
2. *Ev'ry Month*, according to *The Union List of Serials*, exists in two copies, one at the Library of Congress and the other, in its incomplete volumes, at the Oberlin College Library. But the Library of Congress volumes have been missing since 1937, while the scattered issues at Oberlin were discarded many years ago. According to Mr. W. A. Swanberg, there are four scattered issues of *Ev'ry Month* at the Los Angeles Public Library. The University of Pennsylvania Library Dreiser Collection has many issues, but not a complete run, of the magazine. Mr. Robert H. Elias has informed me that, as far as he knows, no one knows about those lost Library of Congress volumes. The present study is based on the microfilm copy of *Ev'ry Month* available at the Yale University Library.
  3. Arthur Henry, *Lodgings in Town* (New York, 1905), p. 83.
  4. Dreiser, *Twelve Men* [1919] (New York, 1962), p. 94.
  5. *Ev'ry Month*, III, vi (March 1897), 4. All subsequent textual references to *Ev'ry Month* will appear in parentheses after the quotations.
  6. "The Treasure House of Natural History," *Metropolitan Magazine*, VIII (December 1898), 595-601.
  7. "The Descent of the Horse," *Everybody's Magazine*, II (June 1900), 543.
  8. Cf. "Electricity in the Household," *Demorest's Family Magazine*, XXXV (January 1899), 38-39.
  9. "The Making of Small Arms," *Ainslee's Magazine*, I (1898), 549. In this connection it is interesting to see another article by Dreiser concerning the dual purpose in the advancement of science and technology. In reference to the production of arms Dreiser commented: "Man's ingenuity finds many contradictory channels for its expression. The labor to perfect those sciences which tend to save human life goes on side by side with the labor to create new and more potent methods for its destruction. This is significantly apparent in the dual operations of governments, which on the one hand expend vast sums in the development of plans more or less humanitarian in purpose, while at the same time even greater sums go toward the improving of those devices which shall be most effective when applied to the sinister processes of warfare." "Scenes in a Cartridge Factory," *Cosmopolitan*, XXV, III (July 1898), 321.
  10. "The Log of an Ocean Pilot," *Ainslee's Magazine*, III (July 1899), 692. This article was later printed with numerous minor changes as a chapter in *The Color*



of a Great City (New York, 1923), pp. 14-33, under the title "The Log of a Harbor Pilot."

11. "With Whom Is Shadow of Turning," *Demorest's Family Magazine*, xxxiv (June 1898), 189; "Through All Adversity," *ibid.*, xxxiv, 334. The poems are as follows:

*With Whom Is Shadow of Turning*

Where the pleasure? Where the pain?  
Where the bliss which men attain?  
None, thou sayst. All a lure!  
All a fancy, nothing more?  
O, my soul!

Where the reason for the right?  
Where the nobleness of might?  
But a dream born of despair,  
But a passing dream, and fair,  
O, my soul!

Wrong triumphant, self the thought;  
Peace alone with money sought,  
Power sold and power bought?  
No, my soul!

Cry not "evil," everywhere.  
'Tis the gospel of despair,  
'Tis the knife to heart and brain.  
Surely there is somewhere gain,  
O, my soul!

*Through All Adversity*

Serene, I wait, O Lord, I wait  
What good abides within my fate,  
Assured, however dark the way,  
That good is all our destiny.  
And when upon me falls the lash  
With stinging pain, and blinding flash  
Of human wrath makes keenly plain  
Mine witless error, seen through pain,  
O, humbled to the earth and wet  
With mine own bitter tears, O yet,  
Still doth abide, unchanged, the dream  
That good prevails, howe'er it seem.

12. "Resignation," *Demorest's Family Magazine*, xxxiv (April 1898), 137.  
13. "Lessons I Learned from an Old Man," *Your Life*, 11 (January 1938), 10.  
14. *The Color of a Great City*, p. vi.  
15. *Ibid.*, p. 233.





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# CONTENTS

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VOLUME XXXVII • SPRING 1971 • NUMBER 2

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800: Supplement A (5) RUDOLF HIRSCH	91
Béranger de La Tour and Sir John Davies: Two Poets Who Set the Planets Dancing JAMES L. SANDERSON	116
Butler's Use of the <i>Rump</i> in <i>Hudibras</i> WILLIAM C. HORNE	126
A Note on Swift's <i>Meditation upon a Broom-Stick</i> and <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> MAURICE JOHNSON	136
Introductory Lectures in Nineteenth-Century American Chemistry Courses WYNDHAM D. MILES	143
Library Notes	151

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# Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800

## SUPPLEMENT A (5)

Compiled by RUDOLF HIRSCH

### CONCINI PAPERS

Lea manuscripts 554-573 form a somewhat fragmentary archive of the CONCINI FAMILY, rich in accounts and documents relating to Bartolomeo [I] (d. 1578), his son Giambattista (d. 1605), his grandson Bartolomeo [II] (d. 1629), the latter's daughters Camilla (d. 1677) and Leonora (d. 1646?), and Giambattista's grandson Arrigo (d. 1631). Ms. 554 provides genealogical data not given by Litta in volume VIII of his *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan, 1837).

#### LEA 554.

CASA CONCINI. Fogli vari della famiglia Concini, consisting of 4 parts bound in one volume: Fascio A. Fogli d'onorificenze e privilegi della suddetta Casa C., covering the period 1302-1652, largely in 17th-cent. copies. - B. Fogli di ricordi, alberi, fedì di battesimo, e di morte, e altri fogli vari, incl. genealogical tables (several folded), 17th cent. - C. Fogli vari risguardanti i beni della Casa Concini, incl. numerous accounts (spese), a real estate map of the Isola d'Arno, etc., 1572-1674. - D. Diversi inventari di mobili della Casa Concini, e.g., Fattoria di S. Guglielmo a Castiglione, Casa della Signora Alessandra Antinori (married to Bartolomeo Concini), etc., 17th cent. *Tuscany, 1572 - 17th cent.*

Paper. A: 4, 36 ff. (ff.3-4 Decreto dei signori otto di Balia, 1569, missing). - B: 32 ff. - C: 390 ff. - D: 236 ff.=696 ff. incl. blank ff. Various sizes in volume measuring 32 x 25.5 cm. 18th-cent. h/vellum over boards; N. 2, Classe XIX on spine, Armadio N. 8 on front cover.

#### LEA 555.

———. Contratti di beni di Firenze della famiglia Concini, si fa ricordo che la nota di beni comprati, che si è citata negl'indici delle filze di contratti in mancanza de rispettivi istrumenti, esiste nella filza di no. 3 della classe XIX. *Florence, 1555-79, with additions 1614-50.*

Paper. 1, 8, 170 ff. (incl. blank ff.). Various sizes in volume measuring 32 x

23.5 cm. Notarial signets. 18th-cent. h/vellum over boards; N. 5, Classe XVII on spine, Armadio 22 on front cover. — Among families involved in the real estate deals are the Arrighi, Albizzi, Medici, Capponi, etc.; ff.61–3 concern an Abram Codaro, “ch’era fallito in Ancona . . .” e sua “fuga in Levante,” 1567; several other docs. relate to Ancona, also to members of the Gerini family, the Spedale di S. Maria degli Innocenti, Congregazione di Camaldoli, etc.

LEA 556.

BARTOLOMEO CONCINI. Libro segnato A. Debitori et creditor . . . tenuto per me Ser Girolamo di Ser Papino suo agente a Terranuova . . . scritto da Michele di Goro Vestri. *Terranuova, 1560.*

Paper. 48 ff. 33.5 × 23 cm. Contemp. vellum.

LEA 557.

GIAMBATTISTA CONCINI. Libro intitolato ricevute, segnata A. The entries of payments received are in the handwriting of the payee, covering a wide variety of persons, i.e. members of noble families (among them several Medici), businessmen and craftsmen (incl. several booksellers, especially Filippo and Jacopo Giunta (ff.4v, 13r, 14r, 19v, 20v, 24v, 67v, 105r, 131v, 159v) and Giorgio Marescotti (ff.2r, 5r, 13v, 15r, 20v, 44r), textile workers, a shoemaker, etc.), the sculptor Valerio Cioli, and a few institutions (e.g., S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence). *Florence, 1564–81.*

Paper. 1, 165 ff. 20.5 × 14.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; Gio. Batta. Concini, 1564 on spine, no. 1 della filza no. , and no. 93 on front cover.

LEA 558.

———. Libro di coperta bianca, intitolato libro di ricevute secondo, segnato B. The entries in this ms. are similar to those of ms. Lea 557, but the character of persons involved is somewhat different, with a preponderance of businessmen and craftsmen (kiln operator, farmer, baker, jeweler, textile worker and manufacturer, hotel keeper), with three entries for Filippo Giunta (ff.142v, 166r, 189v), and two for an otherwise unidentified libraio Jacopo Chiti (f.134v). Two entries relate to Antonio Gondi (ff.95v and 97v, the former involving a payment of 11,000 lire), five to Vincenzo Medici (107v, 132r, 154r–v, 169v), two to Gregorio (Goro) di Francesco Pagani, pittore (ff.119r, 141v), and several to various establishments (Spedale di S. Maria Nuova di Firenze, Spedale di S. Maria degli Innocenti, Cappella della Trinità di Firenze), etc. *Florence, 1581–1600.*

Paper. 1, 195 (recte 196, f.89 repeated), 1 ff. 22.5 × 16.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. II, della filza no. , 94 on front cover; 1 f. from late 15th-cent. Greek ms. (Paul of Aegina, bk.VI) used as guard at beginning and end of vol.

LEA 559.

———. Libro de' conti della penna, e chiamasi libro bianco, segnato A, debitori e creditori. . . . Among the persons mentioned as debitori or creditori are various members of the Concini family, Luigi and Alessandro Capponi, Bartolomeo Galilei, Filippo and Jacopo Guinta, Pope Gregory XIII, Emilio and Federigo Guadagni, heirs of Federigo Ricci, Averardo Salviati, and a Guasparre di Luca libraio; also noted were a goldsmith, kiln operator, mason, wheelwright, haberdasher, textile workers and managers, a painter and a "musico." Among institutions the Spedale degli Innocenti appears several times. *Florence, 1577-83.*

Paper. 384 ff. (ff. ccvi-ccc and following ff. blank); alphabetical index laid in. 43 × 32 cm. Contemp. blind-stamped vellum; no. 65 on spine; vellum missal leaf used as guards. Top fore-edge decorated with letter A.

LEA 560.

BARTOLOMEO CONCINI. Giornale segnato A di coreggie bianche de' conti della penna (fattoria della Prioria di S. Jacopo nel Piano di Radice di Terranuova, per Ottaviano Casini, agente.) *Terranuova, 1606-28.*

Paper. 1, 237 ff. (ff. 212-37 blank). 34 × 23.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; title on front cover rubbed and faded, no. 7 on spine.

LEA 561.

ARRIGO CONCINI. Libro [di debitori e creditori] della fattoria della Prioria di S. Jacopo nel Piano di Radice di Terranuova. *Terranuova, 1628-33.*

Paper. 112 ff. (ff. 102-12 blank). 43.5 × 28.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. on spine damaged and no longer readable.

LEA 562.

———. Libro de' conti della penna, chiamasi giornale del libro grande con coreggie rosse, segnato A. *Tuscany, 1629-31.*

Paper. 1, 97 ff. (ff. 83-97 blank). 43.5 × 28.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; title "Giornale" on front cover.

LEA 563.

———. Libro di coperta rossa con coreggie rosse, segnato A, chiamasi libro grande di debitori e creditori. Many of the entries refer to persons or transactions connected with the fattoria in Terranuova (c.g., Vergilio

Casini, fattore), though casa di Firenze also occurs frequently. Also noted were various churches and monasteries, and entries for Alessandra Antinori Concini (wife of Bartolomeo), and the heirs of Bartolomeo. *Tuscany, 1629-30.*

Paper. 320 ff. (ff. 311-20 blank). 43 × 29 cm. Contemp. vellum, covered with red cloth (loose); no. 86 on spine.

LEA 564.

———. Giornale della fattoria di Terranuova (title on front cover). Vergilio di Giorgio Casini da Tirli . . . scrive in questo giornale tutta la ministratione dell'entrata e uscita che si farà per man sua nella presente fattoria. . . . *Terranuova, 1629-35.*

Paper. 174 ff. (ff. 154-74 blank). 34 × 23 cm. Contemp. vellum; nos. 66 and 11 on spine, letter A on front cover.

LEA 565.

Heirs of ARRIGO CONCINI (Camilla Concini Medici, Leonora Concini Ricasoli, Ginevra Concini Orlandini, Maria Concini Giraldi, Ippolita Concini Capponi). Libro di debitori e creditori . . . il quale tratterà solo del negotiato da Vergilio Casini, fattore a Terranuova. *Terranuova, 1631-35.*

Paper. 224 ff. and 20 ff. index (laid in). 33.5 × 23.5 cm. (index 33 × 23 cm.) Contemp. vellum; no. on top of spine damaged, no. 14 below.

LEA 566.

———. Libro segnato A di coperta bianca, con coreggie . . . , e chiamato giornale del libro grande. Besides various members of the Concini family, Giovanbattista Arrighi, Vergilio Casini, Maria (Concini) and Vincenzo Giraldi, Cosimo Medici, Emilio Malatesta, heirs of Alessandro Neri, Amerigo Strozzi, as well as many others occur in the ledger, also enterprises at Terranuova, Figline, the casa a Firenze, a great variety of commodities, etc. *Tuscany, 1631-35.*

Paper. 144 ff. (ff. 98-129, 133-44 blank) and 18 ff. index laid in. 42.5 × 28.5 cm. (index 42 × 26.5 cm.) Contemp. vellum; no. 99 [?] on spine, title Giornale e ricordi . . . on front cover.

LEA 567.

———. Libro segnato A di coperta bianca [con] coreggie . . . , e chiamasi debitori e creditori sul quale si tratterà conto di tutti li affari, attenenti a

detta heredità. Like other volumes concerning the heirs of Arrigo C. this one provides an interesting picture of assets and obligations. *Tuscany*, 1631-35; 1638 (one entry on last page).

Paper. 286 ff. 42.5 × 28.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; Debitori e creditori on front cover, undecipherable no. on top and no. 90 on bottom of spine.

LEA 568.

———. Libro debitori e creditori si è titolato spoglio di tutti i debitori e creditori che si trovano nella eredità del . . . Conte Arrigo C., attenenti alle sue signore crede le quali sono le sotto nominate . . . Camilla Concini Medici, Leonora Concini Ricasoli, Ginevra Concini Orlandini, Maria Concini Giraldi, Ippolita Concini Capponi. Considerable number of signatures missing. *Florence*, 1637-38.

Paper. 16 ff. (of 112?) and 20 ff. index (laid in); incomplete (the highest folio number in the index is 101). 43.5 × 29 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. on top of spine ?5, no. below missing.

LEA 569.

PRIORIA [di S. JACOPO] nel Piano di Radice [di Terranuova]. Giornale. *Terranuova*, 1630-36.

Paper. 46 ff. (ff. 40-6 blank). 34 × 23.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; Prioria Concini and nos. 59 and 14 on spine. — Some signatures (probably blank ff.) removed.

LEA 570.

CAMILLA CONCINI MEDICI. Giornale della fattoria di Terranuova. *Terranuova or Florence*, 1635-37.

Paper. 64 ff. (ff. 56-64 blank). 31 × 21 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. 15 on spine, name Medici and letter A on front cover.

LEA 571.

LEONORA CONCINI RISALITI. Quaderno di cassa . . . segnata A secondo. *Tuscany*, 1643-46.

Paper. 48 ff. (ff. 36-48 blank). 41.5 × 14 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. 79 on spine, Concini 1643 on front cover. — Some signatures (probably blank ff.) removed.

LEA 572.

CAMILLA CONCINI MEDICI. Entrata e uscita . . . in mano a me Camilla C. M. per l'credità della Marchesa Concini dal Monte. *Tuscany*, 1646-49.

Paper. 35 ff. (ff. 33-5 torn and loose). 23.5 × 16.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; no. 80 on spine. — Fragment only, some signatures missing.



———. 1. Entrata e uscita dell'eredità della Signora Marchesa Leonora Concini tenuta dalla Signora Cammilla Medici, 1646 (ff.1-18, orig. numb.: 1 prel. f., ff.1-6; marked 3 and 81e on prel. f.1r). — 2. Quadernuccio della vendita del vino dell'eredità di Madama Marchesa Concini, *ca.* 1646 (ff.19-30). — 3. Danari che si spendono per i padri Capuccini per il legato di cento scudi della Signora Marchesa Concini, *ca.* 1646 (ff.31-2). — 4. Conto di cassa tenuto dalla Signora Camilla Concini Medici, *ca.* 1646 (ff.33-4). — 5. Unidentified entrata, *ca.* 1646 (f.35). — 6. Ricordo di dove si fanno dire le messe de la Signora Marchesa Concini ordinò a bocca alla Signora Cammilla, *ca.* 1646 (f.36).

Paper. 36 ff. (ff.12-8, 22-7, 29-30, 32 and 34 blank). Various sizes loosely in portfolio measuring 32 × 21 cm. Contemp. boards.

*End of Concini Papers.*

FLORENCE. Statuto della Corte della Mercatantia della Città di Fiorenza (ms. title on label inserted in engraved title with motto "sub tuum praesidium," dated 1597 (i.e., from *Ricetta fiorentina*, Florence, G. Marescotti, 1597), with ms. notation naming former owner "Niccolao di Girolamo Tozzetti"; his signature also appears on f.2r). With additions on ff.176 and 178, and printed correction, dated 30 Sept. 1727, signed Orazio Bassi, pasted inside front cover. *Florence, post 1593?*

Paper. 179 (vero 177) ff. (ff.4-5 and 18 blank; ff.6 and 177 omitted or missing). 34 × 23.5 cm. Decorated initials (oxidized). Contemp. vellum. Prov.: Niccolao Tozzetti; Giovanni Filippo Ticiati. — Similar to ms. in library of Italian Senate (*Catalogo della raccolta di statuti*, III, pp. 161-2), with differences in spelling and variant readings. Lea 574 probably earlier than the ms. in the Senate Library. — The engraved title is listed by A. F. Johnson, *Catalogue of Italian Engraved Title Pages* (1936), p. 22, #38.



LEA 575.

FRANCESCO DI STEFANO RISALITI. Libro di F. di S. R. e compagni lanaioli, a parte, e chiamasi tintori e lavoranti, segnato A. *Tuscany, 1550-56.*

Paper. 1 prel., 63 numb. ff. (ff.19-28 lacking), + numb. ff.112-43 (ff.6-14, 29, 32-44, 58-63, 112-4, 123-34, 137 and 141-3 blank). 42.5 × 28.5 cm. Contemp. vellum; Deti trademark and no. 63 on front cover. - Special accounts include: Pandolfo di Carlo di Medici (cf. f.16r), Giovanbattista Deti (f.28v), Giuliano di Giovanbattista Salviati & Co., tintori, and his brother Lionardo (f.31v). Though purchased separately, this ms. must once have belonged to the Gondi-Medici Archive described as Lea mss. 212-355; see especially mss. 236, 332-5.

LEA 576.

BOLOGNA, Compagnia delli Procuratori delli Poveri Cittadini Vergognosi. Statuti e capitoli . . . 1495[-1646]. - *With* IDEM. Titoli de decreti [1633-1722]. - IDEM. Copia de decreti registrati nel libro bianco [1633-1722]. *Bologna, ca. 1722.*

Paper. 4 prel. ff. (first 2 blank), 86 pp. (81-6 blank), 2 ff., 120 pp., 9 blank ff. 20.5 × 14.5 cm. Contemp. vellum with cover title: Copia de statuti de vergognosi e S<sup>a</sup> Marta e decreti descritti nel libro bianco. Part II of the Statuti has the caption-title Statuti per le putte di S. Marta (pp.28-9). See also table of contents (prel. f.3r).

LEA 577.

HYACINTHE PELEGRIN. Abrégé chronologique et historique des abbayes de l'Ordre de Cisteaux tant en France que dans les païs étrangers, incl. Tables généalogiques ou plan d'un arbre généalogique des abbayes (pp. 180ff.), Papes de l'Ordre de Cisteaux (p.233), Liste des abbés . . . , 1098-1748 (pp. 234-9), and saints, saintes, et hommes illustres . . . (pp. 240-7). *France, 1752.*

Paper. 6 blank ff., 1 unnumb., 182 numb. pp., continued unnumb. to p.247, followed by blank ff. 22.5 × 16 cm. Contemp. calf.

LEA 578.

COUNCIL OF TRENT. Lettere e scritture passate nel Concilio di Trento. 1. Lettere degli signori legati dal Concilio . . . all'Ill<sup>mo</sup> et R<sup>mo</sup> Card<sup>l</sup> Borromeo nel 1562 et 1563, ff.1r-110v. - 2. Scrittura data dal amb<sup>or</sup> di Francia et da Mons. d'Oyssel al Re Cat<sup>co</sup> [Philip II] sopra la translatione del Concilio prima Maii 1563, *with* Riposta del Re Cat<sup>co</sup> . . . die 9 Maii 1563, name Goncalo Perez [the king's secretary] at end of either doc., ff.112r-24v (Span.). - 3. Scrittura data dal Archivesc. Granato [Pedro

Guerrero] et Braga à li ss<sup>ti</sup> legati, et mandata da li ss<sup>ti</sup> legati die Augusti 1562, ff.125r-8v (Lat.). – 4. Instrutt<sup>e</sup> à Mons. di Vintimiglia [Carlo Visconti] per la corte di Spagna [31 Oct. 1563], signed Carolus Card<sup>lis</sup> Borromeus (f.132v), ff.129r-34v. – 5. Proposita et postulata ab oratoribus Christiani regis pro reformatione ecclesiae, ff.135r-61v. – 6. Copy of letter without indication of author or addressee, Trento, 1 March 1563, ff.165r-70v. – 7. Articulus primus [-xxxiv], each with responsio legatorum, and responsio cardinalium, ff.171r-86r. – 8. Text of 13 proposals with responses, *inc.*: Gravantur etiam maxime pontifices, ff.187r-93v. – 9. Instruccion del Rey Cat<sup>o</sup> à Don Luis d'Avila para Roma sobre los negocios del Concilio, name G<sup>o</sup> Perez at end, Madrid, 30 Nov. 1562, ff.195r-212r. *Italy [etc.?], post 1563.*

Paper. 212 ff. (ff.111, 162-3 and 194 blank). 27 × 21 cm. Contemp. vellum.

#### LEA 579.

Pseudo-MUHAMMAD II. Epistola . . . ad Ferdinandum regem Siciliae de expugnatione Negropontis [et] Responsio dicti Ferdinandi regis Siciliae [title on wrapper], Copia littere [?] Theucris ad dominum [?] regem (caption-title), *inc.*: Magometh dey gratia Turchieque Grecieque imperator [!] . . . scire facere, *expl.* (Responsio): . . . datum in castello novo Neapolis, v Februarii Mccccxx<sup>o</sup>. *Italy?, 1470's.*

Paper. 1 f. in paper wrapper of a later date (together 3 ff.). 22 × 15.5 cm. In folder; no. XXIII on wrapper in modern hand. – Probably part of Laudivius Zacchia's compilation, cf. Franz Babinger, "Laudivius Zacchia, Erdichter der Epistolae Magni Turci," *Bayerische Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 1960, Heft 13.

#### LEA 580.

CERAE, fumigia, pulvera, benedictiones et exorcismi contra malificia (most recipes in German; titles, benedictions, etc., in Latin). *Germany, 17th cent.*

Paper. 2 prel. ff., 229 (vero 227) numb., 3 unnumb. pp. (pp. 226 to end blank). 18 × 9.5 cm. Contemp. vellum (from earlier missal). – Name "Dreisch" and no. 112 on prel. f.1r. Table of contents on prel. ff.1v and 2r.

#### LEA 581.

AMEGLIA. Statuta et hordinamenta terre Amelie [communis Janue], divided into 3 parts, Liber I (untitled) deals with various administrative provisions (e.g., prohibitions, elections, animals, food, etc.), Liber II "De

criminalibus," Liber III "De civilibus." Written by Joannes Dominicus de Marchis olim Bernardi (f.47r). *Ameilia*, 24 Jan. 1575.

Paper. 4 prel., 58 ff. (ff.28-58 blank). 31 × 21.5 cm. Vellum. Gift of Orville H. Bullitt. - Occasional marginal additions in a later hand; entry dated 1620 on f.47v. [No.] 78 on prel. f.2r.

LEA 582a.

MONTALBODDO. Cronica de origine et situ oppidi Montalbodi, *inc.*: Montalbodum oppidum in agro Putrio [?] . . . , prefaced by "Jo. Petri Pascutii Carmen ad Gabutium" (f.1r) and followed by "Crystofori Fundae Forliviensis ad Paulum Guarinum de translatione epistolae: Non aspecto gia mai cum tal disio: Carmen" and Funda's "Carmen de Ccrbero translato a comite Gabutio" (f.8v). The chronicle itself contains information on the families Paganelli and Gabuzzi. *Montalboddo?*, first quarter 16th cent.

Paper. 8 ff. 22 × 15 cm. Bds. - With some corrections and marginalia in a different, near-contemporary hand.

LEA 582b.

GABUZZI (Gabuzi) de Montalboddo. Comitibus Gabutii de Montalbodio juveniles & amatoriae epistolae. Ad reverendum dominum Zachariam Contugium episcopum Assisii suum observantem. Six letters in hexameters, 1, 2 and 4 to a Philomena, 3 "Responsiva" by Philomena, 5 to Constantie Ravennati, 6 entitled "Laudatae [!] Tholentinati. *Montalboddo?*, first quarter 16th cent.

Paper. 8 ff. 22 × 15 cm. Marbled paper cover. - Probably in the same hand as Ms. Lea 582a.

LEA 583.

BANDINELLI FAMILY. 1. Inventari e ricordi de beni de signori Bandinelli, compiled by their factor in Florence [Guilio or Francesco] Masetti (v.I). - Copie di lettere e ricordi attenenti al Sig. Alessandro Bandinelli et altri corrispondenti (v.II and folder). *Florence*, 1685-8; 1724-65 (the latter copied presumably in Florence, but incl. copies of letters written in Warsaw, etc., and at least one original).

Paper. Vol.I: 40 ff. (ff.11-17, 20, 23-40 blank); 21 × 15 cm. - Vol.II: 99 pp. (pp.97-9 blank) and 2 ff. inserted between 61-62; 27.5 × 20.5 cm. - Folder: 46 ff. (incl. blank ff.); various sizes. Vols.I-II: Contemp. bds. (v.II vellum backed). - Vol. I is the inventory of the villa "Al Cantone" in Florence, given in considerable detail. - Vol.II is marked "A" on cover; addresses of Stanislaò Bandinelli, signed Prodco;

Alessandro B., signed Bra[c]hijn; Nicolao B., and le Baron [Pierre] de Riancour pasted on verso of flyleaf; ownership (?) "Damiano Crabattio fattore" on slip pasted inside front cover. – Copies of letters, reports and documents (some in French and Latin) concern, beyond persons already named, Ruberto and Martino Bandinelli; Francesco Mainone; Giuseppe Frescobaldi & Sons (bankers in Florence). Primarily dealing with the Bandinellis' business interests in Florence (reported to them in Warsaw), the "copie" also contain commentary on the political situation, wills, etc.

LEA 584.

[PAPACY]. 1. SCRITTURA per l'elettione del decano del sacro Collegio Cardinale degnissimo, e meritevole del papato [Alderano Cybo = Innocent VIII, 1689], ff.1r-16v. – 2. MINUTA della bolla, che pensa di fare Santità . . . Innocento XI per provvedere all'indennità della sede, e Camera apostolica . . . , ff. 17r-25r. – 3. ENTRATE della santa sede apostolica nel pontificato di Sisto V<sup>o</sup>, ff.27r-34r. – 4. DISCORSO sopra l'abuso di fermar le carrozze per la città di Roma, ff.35r-40r. – 5. LETTERA di disfida del Marchese Massimiliano Palombara al Marchese Ottavio de Bufalo, ff.41r-43v. – 6. DISCORSO sopra le differenze trà la Signora Lucretia Carafa, e prencipessa di Botero, e della disfida mandata al Signor Contestabil Colonna dal Signor Ettore Capece Minutolo, ff.45r-69v. – 7. EDITTO, in cui l'Imperatore Giuseppe Primo fà cessione del regno di Napoli [1707; title copied from table of contents, prel. f.1r], ff.72r-4r. *Italy, early 18th cent.*

Paper. 2 prel., 75 ff. (a few blank). 26 × 19 cm. Contemp. vellum (vol.XXIV on spine; stamp "Ex mss. Xav. Card. Gentili" on prel. f.1r).

LEA 585.

LORENZO ROMERO MERINO. Theological miscellany. 1. Dedicacion (5 lines at beginning erased, but deciphered as Beltran . . . Barni, obispo de Edessa . . . , who may be identical with Cardinal Joannes Baptista Barni in Eubel's *Hierarchia catholica*, v.VIII, p.205), ff.1r-8r, followed by dedication to Pope Benedict XIV, ff.9r-12v. – 2. Premissas del juyzio universal . . . , ff.13r-26r. – 3. Extracto delos principios de que infirio el pronostico sagrado . . . , ff.27r-29r. – 4. Arca de Noè, ff.31r-37v. – 5. Salida del pueblo de dios del Egipto . . . , ff.38r-46r. – 6. Mundo abreviado de Daniel, ff.[47-]51-75r. – 7. Libro delos siete sellos del cordero abiertos en el Apocalipsi . . . y la Nueva Jerusalem que baxo del cielo, ff.76r-110v. *Spain, 1741 (f.110v) – 1761 (prel. f.2r)?*

Paper. 2 prel., 110 ff. 10.5 × 10 cm. Contemp. decorated bds.



LEA 586.

BREMER CRONICA de anno Christi 449 usque ad annum 1529, *inc.*: Das erste Buch der Bremer Cronica darin beschriben stehet der Anfangs [!] des Stifts Bremen. . . . Bremen?, first half 18th cent.

Paper. 375 pp. (slightly incomplete at end). 34 × 20 cm. H/calf.

LEA 587.

[MAGDALENA SIBYLLA von NEITSCHITZ (Neitschütz, Neidschütz), Countess Rochlitz]. 1. Magdalena Sibyllen von Neitschüz Grafen-Brief de anno 1693, ex originali, pp.1-14. - 2. Inquisitional Artikel [wider] URSULA MARGARETHA von NEUTSCHIZ [!] beschuldiget, dass sie eine Hexe sey, pp.17-45. - 3. Les funerailles de feu Mmc. la Contesse de Rochliz, pp.47-8. - 4. Der Gräfin Neitschüzin Todt und Begräbniss, pp. 49-52, followed by poem entitled "Die letzte Schuldigkeit," pp.53-5, and copy of testimony by Johann Georg IV of Saxony on his relation with Magdalena Sibylla, dated 1691, pp.57-9. - 5. Defension-Schrifft der . . . Ursulen Margarethen von Neitschüz (in Lat. and Germ., pp.61-105). - 6. Leichenbesichtigung, 30 April, 1694, pp.106-7. - 7. Miscellaneous addenda relating to the witchcraft trial of Ursula and to the death and funeral of Magdalena, incl. a considerable number of poems, mostly in German but a few in Latin, pp.109-47. Germany, 18th cent.

Paper. 1 f., 148 pp. (a few blank, pp.149-54 removed). 34 × 21 cm. Title within pen-and-ink border, the arms of Rochlitz tipped in between f.1 and p.1. Contemp. bds. - "Geschenk der Frau Hofmarschall von Racknitz an D. Gustav Klemm, 20 April 1836" (f.1r); bookplate of Carl Viol, Amsterdam. Printed "Nachricht von der Gräfin v. Rochlitz" (in part directed against an article by Anton Friedrich Büsching in the *Magazin für die neue Historie*, VIII (1774), pp.461ff.) in v.X, pp.361-413 of an unidentified work shelved with the ms.

LEA 588.

[PAVIA]. Crida per li datii del pane, vino et carne, *inc.*: Essendo venuto a notizia alli illustr. Signori Domini Andrea della Cueva, Pedro Verdugo et Antonio Audiore . . . del stato di Milano . . . (Edict against the illegal collecting of tolls or duty on bread, wine and meat, without concession, or failing to remit amounts collected to the state). Pavia, 2 April, 1560.

Paper. 2 ff. (f.2 blank). 29 × 19.5 cm. In folder.



## E. F. SMITH 43.

ALCHEMICAL - PHARMACEUTICAL NOTEBOOK, containing remedies, experiments and extracts on poudre universelle (f.11v); misterio filosofico della segreta preparatione della pietra, e nella materia del sale (f.34v); nitro detonato e conservato (f.63v); etc., with more extensive sections towards the end: Opus Photum a Friderico Gualdi descriptum (ff.80r-91r); La Manière de faire le sel et souldphre d'antimoine (ff.92r-94r); Metodo occultissimo all'universal medicina (ff.106r-108v), etc., and a second set of notes beginning from end of vol., among the latter a Sonetto di Federigo Gualdi. *Italy?, 2nd half 18th cent.*

Paper. 112 ff. 14.5 × 10 cm. Drawing on f.57v. Contemp. vellum.

## E. F. SMITH 44.

PHARMOCOPEIA (ARZNEIBUCH). Ein schen und gerechtes Artney [!] Buech von Dreihundert Arznei Mitln . . . (nos. 1-221 arranged by diseases, 222-40 potable remedies, 241-81 salves, 282-300 miscellaneous matters), followed by Bewerte Mitl vor die Frauen (f.98r-111v), and Unterschiedliche bewerte Mitl vor die Kinder (f.112r-121r), with additions in a different hand on ff.93v-97v, and 122r to end. *Germany, 1683.*

Paper. 146 ff. (f.1, blank, missing). 20 × 15.5 cm. Contemp. vellum.

## E. F. SMITH 45.

JOHANNES de SOLE (pseud.?) Arcana arcanorum, cum quisbusdam particularibus, in solari: latino et germanico sermone sermoni, ut deo serviat, proximoque, bene faciat, propria manu relict, auctore Johanne de Sole, philosophiae et medicinae doctoris, *inc.* (preface): Nachdem der allmechtige Gott Himel und Erden geschaffen hat . . . , followed by Chap. I, De nostro auro, nostro sulphure . . . (*inc.*: Da ich einmahls mit mir zu Rath ging . . .); with sections on tinctures, the philosopher's stone, etc., with several references to Theophrastus (Paracelsus). *Germany, ca. 1700.*

Paper. 24 ff. (f.1 blank). 16 × 10 cm. Illus. of chemical apparatus on ff. 16v and 24v. In folder. - J. Ferguson in *Bibliotheca chemica* (1906) lists a number of similar titles; the text of this ms. might be the same as, or be related to, one of these (e.g., the *Arca arcanorum* of Johann Grasshoff).

## E. F. SMITH 46.

CLAVICOLA MAGICA. La Clavicola magica, e cabalistica del Savio Re Salamone, tradota dal testo original ebraico in latino dal virtuoso negro-

mante Cornelio Agrippa, e posta in francese dal Rabino Nazar, capo della società della Grande Cabala della città di Arle, ove è trata la maniera di fare delli talismani, pentacoli, figure, carateri magici, e patti per le invocationi, congiurazioni, et apparizioni di spiriti seguendo le scongiure, il tutto con esatezza copiato dal originale che viene conservato nella Biblioteca dell'imperatore, portata de Gierusalem. *Italy, 18th cent.*

Paper. 86 pp., in two different hands (numbered pp.1-26, 39-72, 77-86, 179-88; first and last leaves, and leaf following p.86, blank). Text incomplete. 21 × 29 cm. Drawings of pentacles. Boards. - Cf. E. Jouin and V. Descreux, *Bibliographie occultiste et maçonnique*, Paris, 1930, v.1, p.478, probably describing the same ms. Additional pp.179-88 in a considerably later hand, bound in.

E. F. SMITH 47.

[FEUERWERKBUCH]. Grundlik Furwark vy mennigerleywise tho makenn . . . (f.1r), followed by Anfang des 2. Bokes Ruenxatorner [?] des Bussen Meysters (f.18r) with various subtitles, e.g., . . . Wes tho einer Arckleyye gehoren . . . (f.35r), sections on saltpeter (f.54v, etc.), fire balls (f.64r), fire arrows (f.74r); several experiments with notation "probatum est." *Northern Germany, third quarter 16th cent.(?)*

Paper. 3 blank, 136 ff. (ff.16-7, 95-136 blank). 20 × 15.5 cm. With a large number of illustrations (many colored) of cannons, ammunition, quadrants and other instruments, diagrams and tables. Contemp. vellum. - Compilation in Low German, presumably compiled from various sources, with references to barrels [?, "levell"] used in Italy (Venice and Naples). Cf. also Ms. E. F. Smith 2.

E. F. SMITH 48.

PHARMACOPOEIA (book I only), incl. "aurum potabile," many remedies against the plague, against stomachache, headache, toothache, burns, the preparation of oils, salves, plasters, etc. *Germany, 17th cent.*

Paper. 20 unnumb. blank, 183, 7 (index) and 36 blank ff. (ff.173-6 removed). 14.5 × 10 cm. Contemp. vellum over wooden bds.

E. F. SMITH 49.

OMNIA SECRETTUS [!] & Artes de verra [!] Alhimie [!], cum lavorem [!] de tintura alba et rubra. Collection of recipes (pharmaceutical, metal processes, distillation, "opus lapidis philosophici per viam aurei potabilis" (f.10v), preparation of colors, etc.) *Germany, 18th cent.*

Paper. 16 ff. (last blank). 17.5 × 11 cm. Contemp. bds., with double eagle on front cover, no. 8, and alch. symbols. - Apprentice's notebook?

E. F. SMITH 50.

ITALIAN ALCHEMICAL MISCELLANY, beginning with *Epistola Hermetis* (*inc.*: *Verum est sine mendatio*, Thorndike-Kibre, 1691), followed by *Expositio* [H]Ortulani super praedicta epistola (ff.3r-5r); *De lapide minerali* (ff.5v-7v); *Vera operatio Arnaldi* [de Villanova]; *Modo operandi de isto elixir*, *Operatione ut aiunt de Arnaldo* (ff.8r-9r); *La materia delli spiriti*; *La materia dell'anima*; *Ad faciendum corpus*; *Ad faciendum animam* (ff.9r-10r); *Compositio lapidis* (f.10r); followed by sections *A tirar l'argento in pelle*; *Aqua*; *Album*; *Ad sublimandum arsenicum*; *Sublimatio sulfuris*; *Fixatio salis communis*; *Sublimatio arsenici*; *A fissare l'oleo di Tartaro*, etc. *Italy, late 16th or early 17th cent.*

Paper (frayed on the lower outer edges). 43 ff. (ff.1-2 and 40-3 blank). 21.5 × 16 cm. Few drawings of chemical apparatus. Contemp. bds. in h/morocco case.

E. F. SMITH 51.

CASPAR WISTAR. Lecture notes on a course or courses in chemistry delivered by Dr. Wistar in the Medical School of the College of Philadelphia. *Philadelphia* (?), 1790.

Paper. 182 ff. (f.14 blank). 20 × 16 cm. Drawings of chemical instruments and experiments. Contemp. calf. - According to a half-leaf inserted in the front of the volume (dated August 2nd, 1790) the first section of notes, paginated I-XII, 1-78, was copied by M. C. (unidentified) for Christopher Heydrick, who attended the Medical School, 1790-2, but did not graduate. Heydrick's signature appears on the flyleaf. On p.XI of the first section occurs the heading "2. part of Dr. R—h [i.e., Benjamin Rush's] course of chemistry."

E. F. SMITH 52.

PHILIPPE DE ROUILHAC. *Traité du lapis des philosophes* par un auteur incertain, que quelques uns nomment le S<sup>r</sup> Philippes, ff.2r-21r. - *With*: DUCLOS [i.e. GASTON DUCLOS]. *Commentaire sur le lapis des philosophes* de S<sup>r</sup> Philippe, ff.22r-43r. - JACQUES LE TESSON. *Oeuvre du cyon verd en dialogue ou la grande et très excellente oeuvre des sages*, ff.46r-71v. - IDEM. *Deuxième dialogue sur la conduite des philosophes ou le grand chériacque des philosophes*, and *Sommaire de la précédente conduite en forme de pratique*, ff.72r-111v. - IDEM. *3<sup>e</sup> Traité de Tesson*, ff.111v-141r. *France, ca. 1740, ante 1778.*

Paper. 141 ff. (ff.44-5 blank; ff.46-141 numbered (somewhat irregularly) 211-402). 16.5 × 11.5 cm. Illus. of chemical apparatus (f.30v). Contemp. calf. - Bookplate "Derieu" (bookseller) on f.1v with ms. date 1778. Part I probably identical with text publ. in v.IV of J. M. Richebourg, *Bibliothèque des philosophes*

*chimiques*, Paris, 1740. – “Le traité suivant . . . a été imprimé en Latin, sans le commentaire du S<sup>r</sup> Duclos, dans un petit livre . . . Philippi Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi . . . 115 curationes experimentaque . . . adjuncta est denuo Practica operis magni Philippi a Rouillasco Pedemontano . . . 1582” (f.1r).

E. F. SMITH 54.

LIBER DISPENSATIONUM anno M.DC.XCIII. *Italy, 1693.*

Paper. 92 ff. 22.5 × 17 cm. Decorated title page. Contemp. vellum. – Prov.: V. Berelli (18th cent.) Ms. in a calligraphic hand describing 84 pharmaceutical prescriptions to which were added “oleum de Mattioli,” “electuarium diatartari,” “laudan liquido,” “polipodia stomatica,” “syrupus Terebinti Malpichi,” and others in different contemporary or near-contemporary hands. It has the appearance of an official pharmacopoeia of a hospital (Sancta Sanctorum in S. Giovanni al Laterano in Rome?) with notations by physicians, dated 1693–1768, among them Joannes Triellius (?), Hieronymus Caruccius, Vinc. Ant. Gatuccius, Jacobus Sinibaldus, Ant. Gabrielli, Paulus Manfredus.

E. F. SMITH 55.

TRACTATUS DE FORMULIS (De remediis internis, de remediis mediis, de remediis extremis, index), pp.2–167. – *With*: OBSERVATIONS de chymie (nitre, sel amoniac, laudanum, elixir de propriété de Paracelse, alkali volatile, sel de Glauber, antimoine, etc.) pp.169–262. *France, before Jan. 1766.*

Paper. 2 prel. ff., 262 pp. (unfinished or incomplete). 20 × 13 cm. H/vellum. – “Ad usum Steph. Bremond tō philiatrō.”

E. F. SMITH 56.

MILANTIUS PODIUS. [Epistola de lapide philosophorum] *inc.*: Cum dux ill.<sup>me</sup> sepius suis recordet quando simul super aliquibus Aristotilicis locis ratiocinando, pluries visum tibi fuisse, me illa, aut non intellegere, aut dicebas quod ego faciebam Aristotelem. . . . *Rome, 1559.*

Paper (oxidized ink). 8 ff. 29 × 21 cm. In folder. Sign. Tom. VIII. N<sup>o</sup> 16 on f.1r. – Catalogued by dealer under Poggio Milanucci, but signature on f.8r reads Podius.

E. F. SMITH 58.

[DE COLORIBUS URINAE]. Libro . . . de orine, el quale yo Gioan Franc[esc]o Ymolensis de Latino lo trasferido in volgare de lo anno del n[ost]ro S[eni]or 1429 . . . per uso de maistro bonissimo Cirviano (numb.

f.9r), *inc.*: Lo medico voglando havere cognicione dele orine, (ff.1r-9r). – *With* Ad amazare li VERMI in lo corpo dele creature (ff.9v-12r). – PILLOLE de agarico [c] pillores aureis (f.13r-v). – INGUENTI [ed altri medicamenti, beginning with Inguento baselicon and incl. remedies against syphilis and the plague] (ff.14r-17v.). *Northern Italy, ca. 1540-50.*

Paper. 5 blank + 17 numb. ff. (text). 22 × 16 cm. H/vellum. – Prov.: Prince Liechtenstein Library. Johannes Franciscus Imolensis could not be identified in the more obvious biographical dictionaries.

E. F. SMITH 59.

[FRANZ LUDWIG von CANCRIN?]. Abrégé du traité de l'exploitation des mines, extrait de la traduction de l'allemand [de l'oeuvre de F. L. von Cancrin?] faite par M<sup>r</sup> [Antoine-Grimould] Monnet. Avec un petit dictionnaire de minéralogie et métallurgie, pp.1-124 [and second sequence] pp.1-158. – *With* VALEUR intrinsèque de la monnoye de l'Allemagne . . . avec la réduction de la monnoye de France . . . , pp.159-78. – DIFFERENTS SECRETS merveilleux et naturels, incl. Rémèdes . . . à l'usage des deux sexes, pp.179-246. – [POÈMES] beginning with "Les moments perdus," mostly texts to songs ("sur l'air . . ."), pp.247-329, followed by 6 ff. "Table" and 7 ff. added poems. *Düppenweiller, 1780* (sur le privilège de la liberté).

Paper. 5 ff., 124, 329 pp., 13 ff. 3 folded pen-and-ink drawings, vignettes throughout. Contemp. calf. 14.5 × 9.5 cm. – The unnamed compiler was a French Protestant refugee; cf. the preface.

E. F. SMITH 60.

COLLECTION of recipes: lacquers, dyes and stains. *Germany, ca. 1800.*

Paper. 22 ff. (ff.19-22 blank) and one double leaf laid in.

E. F. SMITH 62.

SCIENTIFIC PAPERS, possibly by a member of the Jesuit Collegio Romano and from the circle of Ruggiero Giuseppe Bosovich. *Rome?, post 1737.*

Paper. 323 ff. (incl. blank ff.), folded plates. 19.5 × 14 cm. Boxed. *Contents:* Physica generalis . . . (2 parts, 20 + 20 ff. incl. some blank, diags.). – De fluidorum ascensu in tubos capillares vitreos (10 ff., 1 folded plate). – De fluidorum pressione (6 ff.). – Tractatus de fluxu, et reflexu maris (16 ff., 1 folded plate (diags.)). – De causa motus continuati in projectis (8 ff.). – Vacuum saltem disseminatum existit (8 ff.). – De aeris gravitate, et elaterio (8 ff.). – Cartesiani vortices corporum gravitati



explicandae prorsus impares sunt (8 ff., folded plate <diags.>). – De sono, eiusque propagatione (8 ff.). – Objectiones nonnullae contra existentiam spatii solvuntur (6 ff.). – De fulminibus (6 ff.). – De barometri alterationum, aut mutationum causis (8 ff., diagr.). – De thermometris (10 ff.). – Rationis sufficientis principium apud Leibnitianos solemne, minus universale est, quam Leibnitiū contendat; [et] Corporis constitutum in trina dimensione positum non est (12 ff.). – Cur ambobus oculis unicum objectum conspiciatur (8 ff.). – De crepusculo, eiusque causis (6 ff., folded plate <diagr.>). – Aqua pluvarum, vaporum, nivium ad fontes et flumina gignenda, et conservanda sufficit (10 ff.). – De fontium origine (6 ff.). – De maris salsedine (8 ff.). – De marinorum corporum, quae in montibus reperiuntur, origine (10 ff.). – Omnia animantia ex ovis, vel ex semine, nulla ex putrescente materia originem trahunt . . . (14 ff.). – De anima brutorum (10 ff.). – Tractatus de variis mundi systematibus (56 pp., 1 f., 3 folded plates <diags.>, in paper cover). – De solis substantia, de substantia lucis, de successiva lucis propagatione (14 ff.). – De aurora boreali visa anno 1737, die 16 decembrii (8 ff.). – De terrae motus causa (6 ff.). – Lunam telluris instar fluida atmosphaera num circumambiri probabilius videtur (10 ff.). – De lunae incolis (6 ff.). – De candore, seu luce lunae secundaria (8 ff.). – Americam veteribus innotuisse (10 ff.). – Tenebrae in obitu Christi naturali causa adscribi non possunt (6 ff.).

Citations of philosophers and scientists (e.g., Aristotle, Newton, Copernicus, Kepler, Leibniz, Descartes, Pascal, Boyle) occur throughout these tracts. Gift of Orville H. Bullitt.

## ADDENDA

### LAT. 251.

JOHANN APPENZELLER. *Astronomia*, pars mathematicae, tradita per reverendum ac doctissimum virum Ioannem Appenzeller Societatis Iesu, à me Casparo Mandlacher [et al.?] excepta. Anno 1599[–1604; cf. f.113v]. – *With* PROLEGOMENA in decem Nicomachiorum Ethicorum [libros Aristotelis]. *Ingolstadt*, ca. 1599–1604.

Paper. 1, 160 ff. (ff.114–5 blank). 20 × 15.5 cm. Cloth. – The *Astronomia* begins with a refutation of the Copernican theory (ff.1v–8v). Backer-Sommervogel, Vol.1, col.476.B. lists a different ms. “Dictata in astronomiam,” Ingolstadt, 1596, which might contain the same or a similar text. – The *Prolegomena* presumably are also lecture notes from the Jesuit College of the University of Ingolstadt, written on slightly different paper, perhaps by Caspar Mandlacher, probably during the same period, 1599–1604. Gift of Orville H. Bullitt.

### LAT. 252.

[TERENTIUS AFER]. In Terentium (cf. *expl.* f.16v; commentary on Andria, Eunuchus, etc.) – *With* partial title index to CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS [?], followed by two sample briefs. *Paris?*, ca. 1509–10.

Paper. 35 ff. (ff.1–2 and 35 blank), bound with printed Petrus Tartaretus, *Quaestiones super VI ll. Ethicorum Aristotelis*, Paris, 1509. 13.5 × 10 cm. Contemp. calf. – Probably written by German student (cf. two recipes in German on ff. preceding printed text). See also Lat. 258. Shelved as GrC/Ar466/T11, 1509, cop. 2.



LAT. 253.

[SCHOLIA] in Philippi MELANCHTHONIS "Integrae Graecae grammatices institutiones" (Hagenau?, 1520?) and EURIPIDES "Tragoediae" (*graece*, Basel, Froben, 1524). Considerable manuscript annotations in large parts of Melanchthon and in Euripides' Hecuba, possibly by the earlier of two known owners whose name appears inside front cover (Joachimus Dentener [?] me mancipit). *Germany, 2nd quarter 16th cent.*

Martin Bea [?] eccles. Rosfelt. pastor a.d. 1626. Prel. f.2 contains: In Melanchthonis Grammaticam dictata; volume was probably used in connection with university lecture. Shelved as printed book (GC5.M4804.518i.1520).

LAT. 254.

[SCHOLIA] in EURIPIDIS "Tragōdiai" (Basel, J. Herwagen, 1551); annotations in Latin and Greek, and some German by an unidentified owner whose initials W.H.N. appear on the title page and the binding. Probably used in connection with university lectures. *Germany, ca. 1561* (date on binding).

Contemp. pigskin. Prov.: W.H.N. who entered place and purchase price inside front cover (Witte[n]b[erg] 19 dl); Ed. Marshall, 1790; E. A. Sanford, 1857. Shelved as printed book (GrC.Eu735.1.1551).

LAT. 255.

NICOLAUS DE DINKELSBÜHL. Sermones (de tribus partibus penitencie), *inc.*: Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile secunda [1] ad Corinthios vi<sup>o</sup> capitulo, ff.2r-142r. - With ANDREAS DE ESCOBAR. Modus confitendi, *inc.*: Quoniam omni confitendi . . . , ff.146r-154v. - BREVIS TRACTATULUS de statu religionis (dealing primarily with simony), *inc.*: Non necesse est, ff.155r-169v. - Bound at the end a fragment of 4 ff. (first 2 ff. numbered 2-3) in a distinctly different hand; first extant paragraph *inc.*: Porro insula; *expl.*: [Christus] qui . . . in unitate deitatis vivit et regnat per infinita seculorum secula amen. *Germany, second quarter 15th cent.*

Paper (except in two signatures ⟨ff.145-68⟩ outer and inner conjugate ff. are vellum). 180 + 4 ff. (ff.143-5, 170-80 blank). 15 × 10.5 cm. Previous ownership removed on f.1 with only contents note remaining. Near contemp. sheepskin (?). Vellum fragment of 13th-cent. ms. on falconry inside covers. - *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile* is also the incipit of sermon by Robert Holcote acc. to A. G. Little, *Initia op. lat.*, p.84. - The Modus confitendi of Andreas de Escobar is also contained in Ms. Lat. 118 (no. 4), but with variant readings and with Exhortationes.

LAT. 256.

[Fragment] EPIGRAMMATA quedam auditu jucunda de pigmeis vel nanis. Luscinius transtulit ex greco Ammiano[, Lucullo et Ausonio]. Written on verso of printed broadside containing the lower part of a poem (43 lines), ending Vnd sind all die selbigend Kynd / Die mentel henckend nach dem wynd / Getruckt zů Hagenow [by Johann Setzer, between 1523 and 1532]. *Germany, ca. 1530.*

Paper. 1 f. (28 lines). Ca. 16.5 × 11 cm. In folder. – Dr. J. Benzing suggests title “Gedicht von einem Schmeichler” for printed item (letter dated 11 Feb. 1967). The most frequently recurring word is “streichen.”

LAT. 257.

[ARISTOTLE]. 1. Summulae seu brevis ad logicam Stagyrityae introductio, MDCCX, inc. (Prooemium): Vox summulae in praesenti idem sonant . . . , ff.1r–33v. – 2. Commentarii Peripathetici in universam Stagyrityae phylos[o]phiam pars [pri]ma [–quarta] Aristotelis Logica philosophicis dissertationibus explanata in Alma Caesaria Regiaque Universitate Leopoldina Soc. Iesu Wratislaviae, inc. (Prooemium): Logica Tullio est artium maxima . . . , ff.35r–178r. *Bratislava (Pressburg), 1710.*

Paper. 178 ff. (f.34 blank) and 1 f. (Conclusiones in examine pro baccalaureata phil. defendenda) laid in at end. 19.5 × 16 cm. Schematic drawings on ff.18 and 136. Contemp. h/vellum. Bookplate of Count Ignác Dominik Chorinský z Ledské. Tractatus II . . . De universalibus begins f.73v, Tractatus III De categoriis, f.127r, Tractatus IV . . . De interpretatione, f.144r. – The name Pharenschen appears at the end of 1 (f.33v) and Farenszen [?] at end of 2 (f.177v).

LAT. 258.

[TERENTIUS AFER]. Profuse Latin annotations, marginal and inter-linear, to Publii Terentii . . . fabulae, Leipzig, Melchior Lotter, 1512 (few notations in German, some marginal notes destroyed by close cropping). *Leipzig, after June 1512.*

Paper. 108 ff. (all but f.107v and f.108 covered with notes). 28 × 20 cm. Vellum. Bookplate of J. J. Olinger. See also Lat. 252. – Shelved as printed book (LatC/T2725.1/1512).

LAT. 259.

MISCELLANEA CLASSICA. 1. VERGILIUS MARO. a. Bucolica, ff.1r–21v. b. Moretum, ff.22r–25r (*expl.* of a–b: Ego Gibertus scripsi 1473). c. Georgica, ff.26r–81r (same hand; part of *expl.* torn off, incl. name of

scribe?). – 2. C. CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS. De coniuratione Catilinae, ff.82r-110v. – 3. MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS. *a.* Epigrammata, ff.111r-120r (dated 1483). *b.* Commentary on Martial?, ff.121r-124v, *inc.*: Argelatum locus. . . – 4. CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS. Raptus Proserpinae, ff.127r-150v (dated 1471). – 5. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO. *a.* Cato maior, De senectute (XIV,50-XXIII,85; few lines at end missing), ff.151r-159v. *b.* Somnium Scipionis (II, 3 to end), ff.160r-163v, 170r-v. *c.* Unidentified fragmentary text (interpolated in the Somnium), ff.164r-169v. *d.* Fragmentary commentary?, ff.171r-172v, *inc.*: Secundus philosophus. . . . *Italy, 1471-1483, composite volume in several hands.*

Paper. 172 ff. (f.810 <between ff.159-160> and few ff. at end missing). 18.5 × 15 cm. Leather (17th cent.?). Name on f.1r made unreadable. – *Ad 1a*: The *explicit* is followed by the verses “Scribere qui nescit nullum putat esse laborem [cf. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen* . . . , pp.284, 495; used already in the 8th cent.] / Sed ego qui scribo laborem esse puto. / Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia fillo / Et subito casuque volvere ruunt.” in a hand more stylized than the text proper (supposedly written by Gibertus) and resembling the hand of 4. Interlinear and marginal corrections and annotations, especially in 1b (ff.31v-37r), 2, 4 and 5a.

#### ENG. 36.

WILLIAM COWPER of the Parish of St. James, Westminster. Detailed mortgage agreement (in unsigned lawyer's draft) for £10,000 on a property in Lincoln's Inn Fields to be granted by Issac Leheup and his wife Elizabeth, who upon their marriage had received a dowry of £30,000, with details on the marriage settlement and the investment of moneys (incl. stock in the East India Co.). *London, 26 June, 1723.*

Paper. 15 pp. 38 × 25 cm. Unbound, in envelope.

#### ENG. 37.

JOHN THURLOE. Copies of letters and reports sent to, or prepared for, John Thurloe as head of the English Intelligence Department, November-December, 1656. Originated by representatives or agents primarily in foreign countries; extracted from vol.44 of the Thurloe papers, presumably by a not further identified B.B.S. in 1706 (cf. p.63). *London, 1706.*

Paper. 239 (false 329) pp. and 6 unnumbered ff. (located between 148-9, 198-9 and 204-5). 31 × 19.5 cm. Contemp. bds., poorly rebacked. Fragile condition, hole through the first 56 pp. Milbourne Armathwaite inside front cover. – Most of

these documents were published by Thomas Birch in vol.V of his *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742), but a preliminary check failed to locate all.

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FR. 137.

PARIS. Corps et compilation de tous les commentateurs anciens et modernes sur la coutume de Paris concernant les servitudes et rapports des jurés. Enrichi de nouvelles observations et de plusieurs questions décidées par les arrêts des cours souveraines; avec les conférences des autres coutumes, et un Traité du toisé [géométrique . . . pour ceux qui se meslent d'architecture et de maçonnerie]. *Paris, 1686.*

Paper. 4 ff., 760 pp., 16 blank ff., 20 pp. (index), 3 blank ff. 32 × 23 cm. Contemp. calf. Bookplate "Bibliothèque M<sup>r</sup> Bronod." – Any possible connection of this ms. with the *Corps et compilation* from C. du Moulin, L. C. le Caron, G. Cortin, etc., Paris, 1714 (4 v.), has not been established.

FR. 138.

JEAN JOSEPH FRANÇOIS DE TERTULLE, Marquis de la Roque. Inventaire des biens, beginning on f.1r with Declaration faite de la part de . . . Marie Chrestine de Thezan Venasque, veufve de . . . Jean Joseph François de Tertulle . . . de ne vouloir accepter l'hérédité . . . que par benefice de la loi et sous inventaire, followed by documentation leading to the appointment of Joseph Louis Devillario, notaire et greffier de la cour suprême de la rectorie du comtat Venaissin to take charge of the compilation (f.33v). Signed by him on f.218v. *Carpentras, 1740.*

Paper. 221 ff. (last 3 blank). 29 × 18.5 cm. Contemp. vellum. – The inventory proper of the house in the Rue du Ginjoullier in Carpentras and other properties begins on f.34v and includes besides description of a small library (ff.79r–83v) listing of the very extensive family archive (ff.90r–180v).

FR. 139.

JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT, Marquis de Torcy. Diplomatic correspondence [supplementary to Mss. Fr. 120–22] centering on the War of the Spanish Succession and consisting largely of instructions by the French secretary of state Colbert de Torcy to the secret agent in London, Abbé François Gaultier; they are mostly signed Torcy or T., some entirely in cipher, others containing cipher, several decoded by or for Gaultier, others with Gaultier's drafts of answers attached; Colbert letters largely sent

from Versailles, Marly or Fontainebleau; several with Colbert's autograph additions. – Besides Gaultier's items attached to Colbert memoranda the correspondence contains 1. Draft reports of FRANÇOIS GAULTIER (ff.113-7, 122-3, 151-66, 195-9, 208-20, 248-51, 265-85, 334-6) and two unsigned drafts of letters to Pope Paul V, probably also by Gaultier. – 2. At the beginning filed unsigned report on dealings between England, Holland and the Elector of Bavaria, dated 10 Jan. 1702 (1703?; ff.1-2). – 3. Reports from NICOLAS MESNAGER, MELCHIOR DE POLIGNAC and NICOLAS DU BLED D'HUXELLE (from Utrecht; ff.13-6, 58-9, 65-6, 81-2, 130-3, 140-3, partly in cipher). – 4a. Copy of letter from THOMAS WENTWORTH, 3rd earl of STRAFFORD, and answer (ff.21-4); b. Another, *Raisons qui empeschent la reyne de signer . . .*, from ANNE STUART, Queen of England (1712?; ff.31-6); c. Letter from LOUIS XIV, King of France to Queen Anne (copy; ff.48-9); d. Mémoire of 26 April, 1712, signed by Louis XIV and countersigned Torcy by Colbert (ff.69-76); e. Copy of report from JEAN LOUIS DUSSON, Marquis de BONNAC to Colbert (ff.67-8); f. Report by Gaultier (?) entitled *Demande de la Grand[c] Bretagne* (ff.77-8); g. Autograph letter by ROBERT HARLEY, 1st earl of OXFORD. – 5. Folder marked "codes secrets" (one large folio arranged by number, one by letters and words, 2 lists of code words for proper names). *France, England and Low Countries, [1702] 1712-14.*

Paper. 336 ff. (correspondence) and 9 ff. (ciphers). Various sizes, mostly 33 × 22.5 cm. Boxed.

FR. 140.

FANJEAUX, Carcassonne. The French revolution at Fanjeaux: 1. CAYER pour servir à l'enregistrement des lois at de leurs publications reçu par le commissaire du directoire exécutif du Canton de Fanjaux, commencé le 23 Germinal an 4<sup>me</sup> de la République (cover title); Bulletin des lois n<sup>o</sup> 35 (item 258-Bull.172, item 1633), ff.1r-94r. – 2. COPIE des lettres commencé le 10 Floreal an 4<sup>me</sup> de la République (back cover); Livre de correspondance du C<sup>en</sup> Hollier, commissaire du directoire . . . (to 5<sup>e</sup> Pluioise 6<sup>e</sup> année), ff.2r-24r (begins at end of vol.). *Fanjeaux, 1796-98.*

Paper. 118 ff. (last blank; several ff. removed between ff.94-5); 51 ff. laid in (see below). 32 × 22 cm. Contemp. vellum (damaged). Loosely inserted 17 docs. (numb. 1-2, 4-18 = 51 ff., 1775-1816; letters, memoranda, inventories, incl. Noms des déserteurs; copy of letter, 1800, addressed to the first consul, arguing for better treatment of former members of the Order of Malta). Written by, copied for, or addressed to Victor Hollier (or Holier), successively garde-magasin des fourages militaires at Bages, commissaire du directoire exécutif, juge de paix, at Fanjeaux.



FR. 141. (PROVENÇAL)

[TOULOUSE?]. Account book of unidentified merchant trading in wheat, rye, wine, dyer's woad, also concerned with the repair of mills, operating in the area of Labastide-Beauvoir, Montgiscard, Villefranche, Caraman, Haute-Garonne, etc. *Toulouse?, etc., 1492-93.*

Paper. 59 ff. (ff.13-41 numb. 1-29 in a contemp. hand; ff.11-12, 41-5 and 54-9 blank; slip inserted between ff.6-7). 32 × 21.5 cm. Near contemp. vellum doc., rebound in h/leather.

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GER. 74.

LOWER SAXONY. Disputes between the estates and dukes (Franz the Younger; August; Julius Heinrich; Franz Erdman, and Julius Franz), 1584-6 (nos.1-7); 1620-6 (nos.8-10); 1654-6 (nos.11-14) and 1665-6 (nos.15-20), involving in a few cases the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire (Rudolf II, nos.2-3; Ferdinand II, no.10) and in two later additions George I, king of England (no.[21], 1718; [2] in a different hand, 1729). The main part (pp.1-232) consists of certified copies of 20 original documents. The vol. has no title page, but begins with an explanatory introduction (Anno Christi sechszechen hundert und neuntzig . . . alhier in Hamburg haben . . . Jochim Warner von Bulow . . . und Friderich August von Wittorff . . . im Nahmen Ritter und Landschaft . . . mich . . . Notarium [Johannes Plato] . . . zu verstehen gegeben . . .), and includes a detailed index with description of the originals. Ours apparently is a copy of the certified ms. of 1690. *Lower Saxony, ca. 1718-29.*

Paper. 4 ff., 244 pp., followed by a large number of blank ff. 32 × 19.5 cm. Near contemp. h/calf.

GER. 75.

WALDECKISCHE ERNEUERUNG de anno 1612, compiled by order of Count Palatine Johann by Albrecht Olingen. Begins with description and list of properties, contains regulations, description of taxes (incl. Türkensteuer), list of inhabitants, etc., all these village by village. At end copies of contracts or agreements made under Count Palatine Wolfgang, 1536-8. 19th-cent. accounts on last few pages. *Waldeck, 1612.*

Paper. 122 ff. 20 × 17 cm. Contemp. bds. (spine renewed), label "Kellerey Waldecker Schlosz Buch" on front cover.



GER. 76.

GEORG SPALATIN. Zeitung dem Spalatino auss Osterreich inn zweien Briefen zukommen. 12 short news items on war against the Turks; Brandenburg and its Elector Joachim; Friedrich Nausea, bp. of Vienna; Johann Eck, etc., and 7 referring to a meeting in Vienna (concerned with an attack against the Turks?), incl. a service by Nausea; a procession in which King Ferdinand took part but not the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke August of Saxony; appointment of the Elector of Brandenburg to administer the oath to the troops outside Vienna, etc. *Altenburg, 1542.*

Paper. 1 f. 32 × 21.5 cm. Portfolio. See also newsletters of Spalatin described as Mss. Ger. 28-30.

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ITAL. 254.

MISCELLANEA DI POESIE del secolo XVIII, mostly without indication of authors, except for a not further identified Vai (ff.12r; ff.32r-35r); Giovanni Batt. Ricciardi (ff.12v-28r; 35v-47r); Francesco Melosi (ff.29r-31r); Malatesti (ff.48r-50v); N.N. (directed against "raccolta Panciati-chi," ff.93r-96v). The volume is a composite consisting of several parts written in different hands. *Italy (Florence?), 18th cent.*

Paper. 148 ff. (ff.6-11, 51-2, 68, unnumb. f. between ff.87-8, 95, 114-6, 127, 130, 134-5, and 148 blank). Different sizes in vol. measuring 23 × 17 cm. H/vellum.

ITAL. 255.

ELEONORA (RAMIREZ) MONTALVO. Opere (largely religious poetry, the most extensive is the Vita della Santissima Vergine Maria in 531 verses (pp.41-228); also includes Dialogo del angelo con l'anima (pp.459-67); two Rappresentazioni (pp.468-576); Discorso della peste (pp.612-20); the authoress' autobiography in verse (pp.659-700); sentenze, massime, ricordi, discorsi, trattati, orazioni, lettere . . . in prosa (pp.769-927)). The title page is missing but an earlier (19th-cent.?) dealer's description, tipped in between two prel. ff., provides the following information, presumably from the title page: "Poesie e prose spirituali, lettere ecc., written in the villa Quiete near Florence by Nicolò di Bar. Guidi, confessor of the Ancille della Quiete. . . ." *Florence, 1673.*

Paper. Pp.5-16, 1 unnumb. f., pp.21-928, 6 blank ff. (pp.144-8 omitted). 19.5 × 14 cm. Velvet binding.

ITAL. 256.

WILLIAM III, King of England. Manifesto di Gulielmo 3<sup>o</sup> . . . per servire d'apertura alla pace generale [di Rijswijk]; portato dalli inglese e francese in italiano. *Italy?*, 1696-97.

Paper. 4 ff. 30.5 × 22 cm. Bds. – Review of the political situation in Europe (especially the Turkish threat, in the Holy Roman Empire, France and England) precedes the king's proposal for a peace treaty.

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SPAN. 55.

GRANADA, Audiencia. Court record of proceedings in lawsuit instituted July 8, 1549, by royal authorities of Villa de la Cumbre (Prov. of Estremadura) against Isabel Garcia, widow of Juan de la Amarilla, and her sons, charged with evasion of royal and municipal taxes by claiming nobility to which they were not entitled. They received condemnatory verdict on July 16, 1550. Isabel's descendants reopened the case on December 14, 1585, presenting witnesses to attest to their noble ancestry and purity of blood. A lengthy part of the ms. is given over to the depositions of these witnesses. The case was closed by the Audiencia of Granada ordering restitution of all property that might have been confiscated, June 27, 1590. *Spain, 1590.*

Vellum. 74 pp. 20 × 29 cm. Illuminated frontispiece (Don Philyppe), and illuminated initials throughout. Notarial signets at end. Contemp. blind-stamped calf, rebacked. – Last 10 lines of court record proper interpolated, written in different hand.



SMITH 59

# Bérenger de La Tour and Sir John Davies: Two Poets Who Set the Planets Dancing

JAMES L. SANDERSON\*

IN an attractive essay, first published a few years ago, the late Professor Theodore Spencer wrote perceptively about the poetry of Sir John Davies (1569–1626).<sup>1</sup> His response to Davies' remarkable poem *Orchestra* is nicely articulated. He writes, for example:

*Orchestra* is a delightful poem, though its somewhat disorderly planning shows signs of the haste in which it was written. Its gaiety, inventiveness, and buoyancy are eminently characteristic of the lighter side of Elizabethan life and poetry; the subject of dancing makes the whole poem dance as Davies' wit so gracefully and easily dances its "half-capriol" through the Elizabethan universe. The poem is one great conceit, the most extended in Elizabethan poetry, extended in length through the poem, and extended in thought through time and the spheres and the world of nature and of man.<sup>2</sup>

But in a note to this passage the author undertakes to correct a misinterpretation of the poem which he maintains the late Professor E. M. W. Tillyard made. Professor Tillyard regarded *Orchestra* as an embodiment of conventional ideas and, therefore, a useful supportive document in his depiction of the Elizabethan world picture. Professor Spencer's note reads:

The fact that it is a *conceit*, a particular invention by Davies, needs to be emphasized, in view of the fact that the poem has been misinterpreted as the expression of a *convention*. Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard in his *Elizabethan World Picture*, chapter 8, "The Cosmic Dance," cites a number of passages from Isadore of Seville, Sir Thomas Elyot, Milton, etc., which speak of nature's order in terms of music and harmony, and he interprets them as saying the same thing that Davies is saying. Not one of these passages, however, uses the word "dance," or describes the harmony in terms of dancing. Dr. Tillyard infers that they do; to him, apparently, music and dancing are the same thing. Hence he assumes that the whole tradition inherited by the Elizabethans thought of the world as a "cosmic dance,"

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and that Davies was merely illustrating a common conception; actually nobody had thought of the world as a dance until he did. Dr. Tillyard's assumption makes *Orchestra* both more and less significant than it is, and at a climactic point misinterprets the Elizabethan world picture which the rest of his book well describes.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Spencer is correct in noting Professor Tillyard's failure to support his contention that dance was a conventional symbol of nature's order. In effect, the British scholar involves himself in a circular argument in which *Orchestra* is itself the evidence for its own conventionality. One may criticize Professor Tillyard's method here, but his conclusion seems sound and Professor Spencer's statement—"actually nobody had thought of the world as a dance until [Davies] did"—can easily be refuted.

## II

That *Orchestra* was regarded by certain of Davies' contemporaries as an unusual poem is clear. On the poem's publication Sir John Harington addressed an amusing, albeit somewhat indelicate, epigram to Davies entitled "*Of Master Iohn Dauies Booke of Dancing*," beginning "While you the Planets all doe set to dancing," and ending with a caution about "Female Planets" "That in your lofty Caprioll and turne, / Their motion may make your dimension burne."<sup>4</sup> John Marston, Davies' fellow law student, ridiculed the poem in *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598):

Prayse but *Orchestra* and the skipping art,  
You shall commaund him, faith you haue his hart  
Euen capring in your fist. A hall, a hall,  
Roome for the Spheres, the Orbes celestiall  
Will daunce *Kemps Iigge*. They'le reuel with neate iumps  
A worthy Poet hath put on their Pumps.<sup>5</sup>

And in *Lenten Stuffle* (1599) Thomas Nashe placed Davies among frivolous writers as one who "capers it vp to the spheares in commendation of daunsing."<sup>6</sup>

But the poem's wit and unusual quality reside not in its principal conceit but in Davies' elaboration of that conceit through more than a hundred rhyme royal stanzas. The youthful poet has a seemingly boundless capacity to improvise upon and to amplify his central

theme and to marshal the appearance of vast erudition for what turns out to be essentially a mock-learned effect. One may grant Davies some claim to originality in execution, but the principal organizing idea of the poem is centuries old; and, in fact, Davies' witty and inventive defense of Terpsichore had been anticipated several decades by a French poet.

Dance appears as a metaphor for cosmic order as early as Plato. In the *Timaeus* occurs the following passage:

The earth, which is our nurse, clinging around the pole which is extended through the universe, he framed to be the guardian and artificer of night and day, first and eldest of gods that are in the interior of heaven. Vain would be the attempt to tell all the figures of them circling as in dance, and their juxtapositions, and the return of them in their revolutions upon themselves. . . .<sup>7</sup>

The idea is not unfamiliar in later times. Varro, for example, observed: "That round dance of the stars, the positions of the planets in relation to the fixed stars, the beautiful order and perfect harmony in all their movements—what is all that if not a picture of the primeval dance!"<sup>8</sup> Synesius of Cyrene spoke of the stars as "the dancing company that encircles the universe," and elsewhere praised God, under whose direction "the seven planets dance in harmony in the powerful revolutions of the great vault. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The most extended and important early discussion of dance is Lucian's *Peri Orkheseos*. This work, like Davies' poem, is structured as a dialogue. Crato expresses a low contempt for dancing, and Lycinus praises it and in a light and witty manner defends it against an assortment of aspersions. Lycinus' encomium is both historical and metaphysical, offering a catalogue of venerable exponents and practitioners of the dance in classical legend and history and associating it with matters of cosmic importance, as in the following brief passage:

. . . those historians of dancing who are the most veracious can tell you that Dance came into being contemporaneously with the primal origin of the universe, making her appearance together with Love—the love that is age-old. In fact, the concord of the heavenly spheres, the interlacing of the errant planets with the fixed stars, their rhythmic agreement and timed harmony, are proofs that Dance was primordial.<sup>10</sup>



The debate structure and the many resemblances in idea and ornamental detail between Lucian's dialogue and *Orchestra* suggest, as A. H. Bullen seems first to have noted,<sup>11</sup> that Lucian may well have served Davies as a source for his apology for dance.

Symbolic treatment of dance figures in Renaissance writers besides Davies. In a later work, E. M. W. Tillyard rightly suggested that Davies' fanciful treatment of the dance probably owed something to Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named The Governour* (1531).<sup>12</sup> In this famous humanist work, Elyot defends dance as a proper and useful activity for young gentlemen-in-the-making.<sup>13</sup> Drawing on Lucian, he rehearses the notions of the ancient origin of the dance and notes the high regard with which it was held by classical heroes and nations. As a climax to his argument, Elyot "moralizes" the dance, turning it into an allegorical exercise which, when properly construed, can serve as a pleasant introduction to the study of moral values.<sup>14</sup> In as ingenious a bit of analogizing as can be found in *Orchestra*, Elyot shows how the eight steps of the base dance can be made to yield useful lessons about "the firste morall vertue, called prudence." Dance steps are thus more than dance steps: they are symbols of human relationships and moral values. Elyot's soberly pedagogical apology differs markedly in tone from the light, almost impudent banter of *Orchestra*. But his allegorizing mode of thought and analogizing wit are not far removed from Davies' essential method.

Astral dance imagery appears in Du Bartas' *Divine Weeks and Works*, Montaigne's *Essays*, and in several of Milton's poems.<sup>15</sup> Dance is also treated as a symbol of cosmic order in the choreography of the courtly masques in Davies' time, both in France and in England. Frances A. Yates has discussed the speculations of Jean-Antoine de Baïf and his associates in the French academies concerning dance and its almost mystical capacity to harmonize participants and spectators and to bring them into rapport with their universe, and has shown how such notions were incorporated in the *Ballet Comique de la Reine*, performed for a court wedding in 1581.<sup>16</sup> John C. Meagher has studied the symbolic significance which in certain of his masques Ben Jonson attached to dance as an image of cosmic order, of the motion of the four elements, and of the progression of the seasons.<sup>17</sup> Although its symbolic function is implicit, J. R. Brown has shown



how Shakespeare employed dancing in his romantic comedies as an emblem of social concord and harmony.<sup>18</sup>

### III

These instances clearly refute Spencer's contention that "nobody had thought of the world as a dance until [Davies] did." But an even more explicit anticipation of Davies' "sudden, rash, half-capriole" of wit can be cited. I refer to the *Choreïde, autrement, Lovenge dv bal* (1556) by François Bérenger de La Tour (1522?-1599?), published in Lyons, an attractive and entertaining poem which has received little critical comment.

Like Davies, La Tour was a lawyer and a poet. Born in Aubenas, he studied law in Toulouse and lived for a time in Bordeaux and Paris, where, according to Henry Vaschalde, his association with several literary figures, including Clement Marot, "lui inspira un goût extraordinaire pour la poésie."<sup>19</sup> Around 1550 he settled in Aubenas and in subsequent years occupied several civil posts. But "l'estude des lettres humaines," his biographer writes, "estoit sa plus douce et sa plus ardente passion; jusque-là mesme que pour enrichir sa langue des despoilles des langues étrangères, il se rendit si familières les langues grecques et latines et l'italienne mesme, que l'on en voit esclatter mille beaux traits dans ses escrits."<sup>20</sup> In addition to the volume containing the *Choreïde*, La Tour translated his "ardent passion" into three others: *Le siècle d'or* (1551), *L'amie des Amie* (1558), and *L'amie rustique* (1558).<sup>21</sup>

*Choreïde* is a monologue of 330 lines in octosyllabic couplets dedicated to the amusement and pretended instruction of several ladies named in the poem: "Susanne, Alix, Iane, & Thomine, / Louïse, Blanche, & Maximine." The opening lines provide a formal statement of the poem's subject, an invocation to the Muses for assistance, and a brief, but graceful dedication:

Blame tant qu'on voudra la danse,  
L'ay espoir mettre en euidence  
Sa louenge: & veus soutenir  
Qu'on ne doit rien plus cher tenir,  
Ne croire plus utile: comme  
Ayant naissance auecques l'homme:  
Auec l'homme, & auec le Monde:

Et croy bien que sa forme ronde  
 Prontement on verra cesser  
 Quand on laissera de danser.  
 Son cours (mes Dames) est plus long  
 Qu'on n'a crû. l'ignorance donq  
 Auoit la rumeur esuentee  
 Qu'Israël l'auoit inuentee,  
 Et la mit sus tout de nouueau,  
 Le iour qu'il adora le Veau:  
 Mais mile & mile ans par dela  
 Eut origine. Et pour cela  
 Aydez moy, Muses, aydez moy  
 A chanter son loz: car ie voy,  
 Hors mis propos qui tousiours tencent,  
 Le lieu, le ieu, & ceus qui dansent,  
 L'instrument, le tems, l'assistance.  
 Et l'inuencion de la danse.  
 Les Muses qu'en mes vers i'apelle:  
 C'est bien vne troupe autant belle,  
 Que belle on void la Parnaside.  
 Vienne donq troupe qui reside  
 En ces monts, Muses baladines,  
 Et fassent que mes vers soient dines  
 De chanter le val honoré,  
 Seul fragment du Siecle doré.  
 Susanne, Alix, Iane, & Thomine,  
 Louïse, Blanche, & Maximine,  
 Votre plaisir soit d'auancer  
 L'euure que ie veus commancer. (pp. 3-4)

These lines, as well as certain distinctions La Tour draws at the conclusion between the kind of dance he thinks worthy of praise and that he regards as unworthy ("la danse Iônique, / N'aussi d'Herodie l'inique" [p. 15]), suggest that the historical context for *Choreïde* was the vigorous attack made upon the dance throughout the sixteenth century in Europe, as well as in England, by stern moralists, especially Calvinists.<sup>22</sup> La Tour was one, as I believe Davies was, who, however seriously and probably tongue-in-cheek, took up the defense of Terpsichore and her rightful sway among mankind.

La Tour's defense proper falls into two principal parts, clearly recalling Lucian's dialogue in basic ideas and illustrative details. He

claims that the origin of the dance was coeval with the planetary motions, which La Tour speaks of as forms of dance and whose cessation will signal the end of all creation:

Et quand plus ce trein ne feront,  
Quand plus ne verrons les adresses  
Des sept Planettes danseresses,  
Leur acord, leur tour, leur cadance,  
Et de tous points lairront la danse,  
Tout mourra: car finie icelle,  
Sera la fin uniuerselle. (pp. 4-5)

The poet finds dance images in the play of flames: "Le feu, element plus subtil, / Et le plus leger, ne fait il / Danser ses flammes?" (p. 5). Likewise, the rhythmic advance of the waves toward the shore and the leaves fluttering in the wind are forms of dance. Indeed, in all creation the presence of dance can be discerned:

Car chacun d'une gayeté  
Saillit, voltige, court, & fait  
Les tours que par nature il sait.  
Le poisson se guinde sur l'eau,  
La Biche aussi, & le Taureau:  
A leur mode dansent il pas? (p. 6)

Movement is the essence of dance and of all life:

Le grand Tout, de qui tout prouient,  
L'auteur fut, il en fut l'auteur,  
Se nommant le premier moteur. (p. 7)

Since we enjoy movement in its cruder manifestations—"Le mouuement cru, & sans art" (p. 8)—how much more should we enjoy and profit from the deliberate and artful dance, "De celui que par reigle auons" (p. 8).

Validating dance as a worthy activity is the high esteem in which it was held in classical times.

Tant eut apres de cours la danse  
Que tous les hommes d'aparence,  
Iusque aus Rois de ces pais là  
Si exerçoient: & pour cela  
Le Grec Poëte vient hausser

Merion par son beau danser:  
 Car par cela il cuitoit  
 Les trets qu'en guerre on lui getoit:  
 Du fils d'Achile on dit autant:  
 Mais Lacedemone aioutant  
 A ce bal, les vers poëtiques,  
 Aussi les instrumens antiques,  
 Conduisoit par mesmes acords  
 La voix, le pié, & tout le corps. (p. 9)

Dance had been an essential part of ancient religious observances:

Je say bien qu'aus antiques festes  
 Ceremonies n'estoient faites  
 Sans la danse: & par le danser  
 On venoit à les commencer.  
 L'Orgie des Dieus fut ainsi.  
 En Delon on dansoit aussi  
 A l'entour de leur sacre autel  
 Avec la lyre: & moyen tel  
 Les Indiens tiennent encore.  
 Là ou le Soleil on adore:  
 Car retournez vers l'Orient,  
 En dansant ils le vont priant. (p. 11)

The harmony and concord of the Heavenly Hosts are, according to La Tour, a reflection of the dance:

Les rengs de l'Eglise, & des Anges  
 Chantans les diuines louenges,  
 Sont nommez Choeurs, car on void en ce  
 L'acord imité de la danse. (p. 13)

In this summary, readers will find many parallels in ideas and images between La Tour's poem and *Orchestra*, parallels which can be explained by the poets' common debt to Lucian's dialogue. But the fact that the two works are poems with similar tones suggests the possibility of La Tour's influence on Davies. In recent years some correspondence of Davies has been noted which indicates that he and his student-friends William Fleetwood and Richard Martin were on the Continent and that they visited the Dutch scholar Paul Merula in the autumn of 1592.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that Davies—or perhaps Martin to whom Davies dedicated *Orchestra* and described as the poem's

"first mouer and sole cause of it"—came upon *Choreïde* during his travels, and found a precedent for a clever exercise in verse on a subject which had called forth vehement and learned denunciations by the more solemn and sober. It is worth noting that *Orchestra* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* not too long after this visit in June of 1594.<sup>24</sup>

Although a precise indebtedness cannot presently be proved, neither should it be ruled out. It would not be the only instance in Davies' work in which French sources served his poetic efforts well.<sup>25</sup> At the least, an awareness of *Choreïde* serves, if in a small way, to substantiate Professor Tillyard's contention that Davies' poem was "not freakish and exceptional but central to Renaissance ways of thinking,"<sup>26</sup> and to support his view of *Orchestra* as an expression of sixteenth-century conventional thought.

## NOTES

1. "Two Classic Elizabethans: Samuel Daniel and Sir John Davies," in *Theodore Spencer: Selected Essays*, ed. Alan C. Purves (New Brunswick, 1966), pp. 100-122. The essay was written in 1948.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 117, n. 8.
4. *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 211-212.
5. Sig. H3<sup>v</sup>. *The Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1887), III, 372, has a modern-spelling version.
6. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904-10), III, 177.
7. *The Dialogues of Plato*, tr. Benjamin Jowett (New York, 1937), II, 21-22.
8. Quoted by Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, tr. Bessie Schönberg (New York, 1937), p. 124.
9. *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*, tr. Augustine FitzGerald (London, 1930), II, 374 and 385. I am indebted to Professor C. A. Patrides for calling my attention to these passages.
10. Ed. and tr. A. M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), V, 221.
11. *Some Longer Elizabethan Poems* (Westminster, 1903), pp. vii-ix.
12. *Five Poems* (London, 1948), pp. 36-37.
13. Ed. Henry H. S. Croft (London, 1883), Vol. I, Chaps. xix-xxv.

14. Ibid., I, 238ff. Concerning Elyot's treatment of dancing see John M. Major, "The Moralization of the Dance in Elyot's *Governour*," *Studies in the Renaissance*, v (1958), 27-36.
15. *The Complete Works of Joshua Sylvester*, ed. A. B. Grosart (for private circulation, 1880), I, 84 and 157; *Selected Essays of Montaigne*, ed. Walter Kaiser (Boston, 1964), p. 216; and Nan C. Carpenter, "The Place of Music in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, xxii (1953), 354-367.
16. *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947).
17. John C. Meagher, "The Dance and the Masques of Ben Jonson," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxv (1962), 258-277.
18. *Shakespeare and His Comedies* (London, 1957), pp. 139-159.
19. "Le poète Béranger de la Tour et ses oeuvres," *Revue du Lyonnais*, xii (1891), 56.
20. Ibid.
21. Little seems to have been written in recent years about La Tour. Vaschalde assembles the basic biographical materials and makes brief comments on individual poems in the article noted above, pp. 46-60, 99-116, 173-190, 228-247. A brief notice by Verdun L. Saulnier in *Dictionnaire des lettres Françaises: le seizième siècle* (Paris, 1951), pp. 427-428, includes a short bibliography.
22. See H. P. Clive, "The Calvinists and the Question of Dancing in the 16th Century," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme*, xxiii (1961), 296-323.
23. The letters are in Bodleian Ms. D'Orville 52, ff. 49-50, and were first noted by T. J. Childs in his unpublished thesis (Oxford University, 1939), pp. 14-23. The correspondence has more recently been cited by Robert Krueger, "Sir John Davies: *Orchestra* Complete, *Epigrams*, Unpublished Poems," *RES*, xiii (1962), 25.
24. Ed. Edward Arber (London and Birmingham, 1875-94), II, 655.
25. See Louis I. Bredvold, "The Sources Used by Davies in *Nosce Teipsum*," *PMLA*, xxxviii (1923), 745-769, and G. T. Buckley, "The Indebtedness of Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum* to Philip Mornay's *Trunesse of the Christian Religion*," *MP*, xxv (1927), 67-78.
26. Ed. *Orchestra* (London, 1945), p. 12.



# Butler's Use of the *Rump* in *Hudibras*

WILLIAM C. HORNE\*

ALTHOUGH Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663-78) had a high popularity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recent critics of Restoration satire have given scant attention to a poem which must still be called one of the greatest burlesques in English literature. For the modern reader, the dense topicality of Butler's major poem has probably been the chief hindrance to an easy appreciation of its wit and satire.<sup>1</sup> However, now that John Wilders' excellent new edition with commentary has appeared, there remains little justification for the complaint that the topicality of *Hudibras* makes it unintelligible.<sup>2</sup> Wilders' commentary should open the way for scholarship and criticism to give the modern reader a lively sense for the topical contexts in which Butler's wit and satire operate. On a limited scale, this essay is intended to do just that.

*Rump* is the title of an anthology of Royalist satiric verse published in 1662; a copy is in the possession of the Rare Book Room of the Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> Although Wilders in his commentary cites *Rump*, and although one or two other critics of *Hudibras* refer to it in passing, no critic seems to have read through this anthology carefully enough to discover the extent to which Butler uses the conventions of this brand of Royalist political satire.<sup>4</sup> The most noteworthy of these are: the abuse of a stock Roundhead caricature, as well as the repeated attack on certain vocational groups and social classes (artisans and manual laborers); the ironic use of a spokesman-for-the-Cause as a narrator (often he assumes the persona of mock-petitioner or mob-orator); and the repetition of the same metaphoric motif with slight variations, e.g., the Rump joke. All of these conventions, most notoriously the Rump joke, appear in one form or another in both *Hudibras* and in *Rump* satires, but only the first of these will be treated here directly.<sup>5</sup>

Abuse of a Roundhead caricature occurs in a number of *Rump* poems; in a few of these the figure's identifying features show in-

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triguing similarities to those of Hudibras the Presbyterian knight. Several critics have attempted to discover the historical model for the character of Hudibras. Wilders in his Appendix B summarizes arguments for and against identifying a Sir Samuel Luke as the model for Butler's protagonist, but Wilders concludes that the question remains "unsolved."<sup>6</sup> Whether Butler did create his hero with Luke in mind or not, there is enough material in a number of *Rump* satires having to do with a "stout Colonel" (in some poems, an alderman) to suggest that a prototype of Hudibras was a stock figure of abuse in Royalist satire of the Commonwealth period. Where it is given, the historical identity of this figure varies; however, the question of whether this figure is drawn from a historical model is less important than is the fact of Butler's familiarity with *Rump* satire. Even more important is the insight that can be had into the ways Butler sophisticates the tactics of *Rump* satire in creating the character of Hudibras.

In *Hudibras* the hero's identity is established quite early and quite at length (I.i.13-450). The features of his identity that are pertinent to this comparison and contrast are, however, few in number: Hudibras, of course, is a Presbyterian knight, "a Justice of the Peace in his County, as well as a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, in the Parliaments Army, and a Committee-man." This extended description of Hudibras' identifying features is supplied by Butler in a note;<sup>7</sup> however, it would seem significant not because it points to a historical model for Butler's Presbyterian knight, but because it provides a satiric rationale for involving Hudibras in spheres of activity other than the martial. Thus, Hudibras ironically embodies the strength of Presbyterianism, not just as it manifested itself in Roundhead military activities but also in a multiplicity of legislative, judicial, and bureaucratic actions against the Royalists.

Extending Hudibras' identifying features ultimately allows Butler to satirize vices universal to human behavior, primarily the vice of hypocrisy in all its forms. In contrast, *Rump* satire is almost exclusively topical, partisan, and propagandist in its attack on Roundhead caricatures. One *Rump* poem entitled "*A City Ballad*" presents a series of satiric caricatures of various military and political figures. One of these caricatures, drawn in three continuous stanzas, seems a Hudibras prototype not only in his identifying features, but also in his prowess in courting women:

## 11

There's just such another  
 May well be call'd *Brother*  
 A *Collonel* stout, and a *Knight*,  
 And an *Alderman* too,  
 As now *Aldermen* go,  
 That will neither take wrong nor do right.

## 12

We ne're yet did know  
 That he durst meet a foe,  
 And his pale colour speaks him afraid  
 Yet in story we read  
 He did one valiant deed,  
*Which was to his Masters Maid.*

## 13

Then to get an Estate,  
 He found out a Mate,  
 Which was an old *Usurers* Daughter,  
 Supplanted the Son,  
 And then he begun  
 To be *Wealthy*, and *Worshipfull* after.<sup>8</sup>

Here the prototype is a "Collonel stout" and a "Knight" as Hudibras is, but rather than being a "Committee-Man" the prototype is an "Alderman."<sup>9</sup>

Another Royalist satire entitled "*On Col. Pride*" by Alexander Broome presents a more complete portrayal of a Hudibras prototype.<sup>10</sup> The hero in this case is a knight, a colonel, but is not specifically identified as an alderman; he is simply "of the *Governing* trade."

Of *Gyants* and *Knights*, and their wonderfull *fight*s  
 We have stories enough in *Romances*.  
 But I'll tell you one new, that is *strange* and yet *true*,  
 Though t'other are nothing but *fancies*.

## 2

A *Knight* lately made, of the *Governing* trade,  
 Whose name he'll not have to be known;  
 Has been trucking with fame, to purchase a name,  
 For 'tis said he had none of his own.

He by Fortunes design, should have been a Divine,  
 And a Pillar no doubt of the Church;  
 Whom a *Sexton* (Got wot) in the *Bellfry* begot,  
 And his Mother did pig in the Porch.<sup>11</sup>

The narrative action of "*On Col. Pride*" involves the rise to fame (or infamy) of its hero. Bred as a hog-feeder, he advances to become a drayman, at which point he marries a trull named Ursula.<sup>12</sup> Going to wars, he demonstrates his cowardice in notable fashion, and after the wars goes on to oppose cockfighting and bearbaiting.

## 16

But flesh'd with these *spoyles*, the next of his *toyles*,  
 Was to fall with wild-beasts by the ears,  
 To the *Bearward* he goeth, and then opened his *mouth*,  
 And said, *Oh! are you there with your bears.*

. . . . .

## 18

The crime of the *Bears*, was, they were *Cavaliers*,  
 And had formerly fought for the *King*;  
 And pull'd by the *Burrs*, the Round-headed *Curs*,  
 That they made their ears to ring.

Not only are portions of the narrative, especially the hero's opposition to bearbaiting, broadly similar to sections of the plot of *Hudibras* (notably in I.ii. and iii), but the jocular tone of "*On Col. Pride*" as well as its diction suggest Butler's poem.<sup>13</sup>

Although it would be difficult to establish in any clearcut way that Butler knew "*On Col. Pride*," there is good reason to argue that he was familiar with another Royalist satire containing a *Hudibras* prototype. From a poem with the noisome title "*Upon Alderman Atkins bewraying his Slops on the great Training day*," Butler seems to have taken a number of suggestions for the composition of *Hudibras*. (1) The character of Alderman Atkins has all the identifying features of the other *Hudibras* prototypes just examined, but even more directly he seems a model for the character of *Hudibras*. (2) The narrative incident presented in the latter two-thirds of "*Upon Alderman Atkins . . .*" was apparently picked up by Butler and integrated

into the mock-epic battle in i.iii. between Hudibras and the worthies—Talgol, Orsin, Magnano, Trulla, Cerdon—of the bearbaiting mob. (3) Throughout "*Upon Alderman Atkins . . .*" but especially in the first twelve lines, there are mock-epic and mock-romance elements that seem to suggest in crude form Butler's use of these. (4) The single and double rhymes are similar to some of those in *Hudibras*, both in their burlesque quality and in a few of the words rhymed.<sup>14</sup>

Although the last two sorts of borrowing (3 and 4 above) are significant, it is the character of Alderman Atkins as a Hudibras prototype and Butler's use of the narrative incident from "*Upon Alderman Atkins . . .*" that are most pertinent to this discussion of *Hudibras*. The character of Alderman Atkins is introduced in much the same way that Hudibras' "virtues" are described in the opening canto of Butler's poem (see i.i. 15-450):

I Sing the strange adventures and sad Fate,  
That did befall a Collonel of late,  
A portly Squire; a Warlike hardy wight,  
And pity 'tis, we cannot call him Knight,  
A stout man at Custard, and Son of Mars,  
But oh the foul disaster of his ——  
Before the *Worthies*, and the rest beside,  
Who saw how he his Courser did bestride,  
Weilding his *Truncheon*, like a *Weavers* beam,  
And yet —— his hose in every seam;  
I cannot tell how fair he was i'th' Cradle,  
But sure I am he was foul enough i'th' Saddle!<sup>15</sup>

Different in certain minor respects, the character of Alderman Atkins has many of the same identifying features as the other Hudibras prototypes. He is a "Collonel," "a portly Squire," and would have been a knight if not for the poet's sarcasm. By title he is an alderman, most likely in the city of London. All his important titles, however, don't inhibit the satirist intent on smearing his dignity and reputation.

For feats of *Armes* none could come near him then,  
He smelt so strong, and when eight thousand men  
Discharg'd their Musquets, he discharged too,  
But what? his Office and his Guts? what though  
He made a House of Office of his Hose?

Stand further off, if it offend your Nose:  
 Belike he meant to hansell his New Satten  
 Or, like fat Oxen, in his dung to batten;  
 But when in triumph he from *Finsbury*  
 Came home to *Leaden-hall*, he call'd to see  
 His *Hellena*, his Sultanesse, when she  
 At's first approach smelt out his Knavery;  
 And lest by the hot skirmish of the day,  
 Her *Paris* might miscarry in the way,  
 Or mett with some wounds, sends for in all haste  
*Shambrook* the skilfull Chirurgion, who begins at th' waste  
 T'untruss, and as he fumbling downwards tends,  
 He had the businesse at his fingers ends;  
 Foh, quoth the Chirurgion, call the Kitchin Qucan  
 With clout in hand to make his Worship clean;  
 Then about the Master all the Servants shuffl'd,  
 He, like old *Lockwood* in the Counter, scuffl'd,  
 Shew'd two broad mighty Hanches all bewray'd,  
 Nay then, quoth *Shambrook*, how shall I be paid;  
 The Devil a wound I see, is this the prime  
 Of six City Colonels in good time?  
 They say that shitten luck is good, and I  
 Will put it to the Vote of Chivalry,  
 Whether all be not likely well to jump  
 In th' New Militia, when a —— is trump.<sup>16</sup>

Butler probably used this narrative incident in the final fight scene between Hudibras and the bearbaiting "worthies." The weapons in this particular encounter are stones. The hero, having received a solid blow upon his "manly panch" and feeling his sock full of blood, thinks himself mortally wounded. This provokes a heroic death-speech:

The knotted bloud within my hose,  
 That from my wounded body flows,  
 With mortal *Crisis* doth portend  
 My dayes to appropinque an end.  
 I am for action now unfit,  
 Either of fortitude or wit.

(1.iii.587-592)

And so Hudibras goes on dying, with a good deal of fortitude and



little wit, only to discover sixty-three lines later that he was mistaken in his self-diagnosis:

Meanwhile the *Knight* began to rouse  
The sparkles of his wonted prowess;  
He thrust his hand into his hose  
And found both by his eyes and nose,  
'Twas onely Choler, and not bloud,  
That from his wounded body flow'd.  
(1.iii.655-660)

As a small part of Hudibras' extended death-speech and as an even smaller part of the bearbaiting fight, the Knight's mistaken self-diagnosis *à la* Alderman Atkins is simply another manifestation of the confusion and violence that characterize the satiric action in this canto. But even though Butler underplays the greasier aspects of the scatological incident, Butler's hero comes out of the battle smelling no sweeter than Alderman Atkins. Ostensibly, Butler seems more sophisticated in his humor, but what he gives the reader, when everything comes out, is no better than another Rump joke.

In both the characterizations and the narrative actions of the Hudibras prototype, *Rump* satirists were using two devices, which were just as much a function of their propagandist intent as of their use of burlesque as a literary strategy. First, they created a figure, possibly with a real person in mind, of some ostensible dignity and importance by Roundhead standards and then set out to belittle and humiliate his character. Second, they made a point of mocking this figure's prowess as a soldier by representing him as a buffoonish coward whose fighting is misdirected and uncoordinated. If it was historically inaccurate, as Samuel Johnson says of the character of Hudibras, to portray a "representative of the presbyterians" as a cowardly fighter whose weapons are "represented as ridiculous or useless," the Royalist satirists did at least gain the psychological advantage in their propaganda.<sup>17</sup>

Butler's satiric strategies in creating the character of Hudibras and in involving him in actions such as the fight with the worthies (in 1.iii.) can be seen as on a par with those of the earlier Royalist satirists. Hudibras is a figure of ostensible dignity: a knight, a justice of the peace, and a committee-man. As such he is constantly belittled and humiliated. Likewise, as "a Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the

Parliaments Army," Hudibras' soldierly prowess, in attacking the bearbaiting mob and finally in being beaten and humiliated by the virago Trulla, is comically deflated. Viewed in these terms, Hudibras seems the ultimate development of a stock figure, a type of Roundhead *miles gloriosus* who originated in Royalist satire of the Commonwealth period.

As a propagandist and master of burlesque, Butler, like the earlier *Rump* poets, humiliates and degrades his hero repeatedly. But Butler's primary accomplishment as the ultimate Royalist satirist is to make Hudibras persist in humiliating and degrading himself, while almost knowing that he does so. It is this quality in his character and in his actions that gives him a full-blown burlesque stature. Hudibras becomes a representative of the wrongheadedness and hypocrisy of the *Cause* in all its religious and political manifestations, throughout the Civil Wars and Commonwealth period. As with the Puritan *Cause*, even the most idealistic and seemingly heroic of human endeavors can come out badly in the end. This was so for Alderman Atkins just as much as for Hudibras.

## NOTES

1. In his volume of the *OHEL*, James Sutherland asserts that the *Hudibras* "that the Restoration reader and his sons and grandsons so enjoyed has almost completely evaporated" (*English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* [New York, 1969], p. 158). In his life of "Butler," Samuel Johnson complained similarly that much of the "humour which transported the last century with merriment is lost to us . . ." (*Lives of the English Poets*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill [New York, 1967], I, 214).
2. *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford, 1967)—all textual references to *Hudibras* in this essay are to Wilders' edition. Wilders states that his "edition was undertaken primarily with the object of providing a commentary on *Hudibras* which would make it intelligible to the modern literary student" (p. v). To a large degree, he seems to have accomplished his intention; see Earl Miner's review in *PQ*, XLVIII (July 1969), 340.
3. The full title is *Rump: or An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating To the Late Times. By the most Eminent Wits, from Anno 1639, to Anno 1661* (2 pts.; London, 1662); there is also a 1874 reprint. For a first-line index, a title index, and an identification of the authorship of many of the *Rump* poems, all of which are printed anonymously in the 1662 edition, see Harold F. Brooks, "Rump Songs: an Index with Notes," *Oxford Bibliographical So-*

ciety: *Proceedings & Papers*, v (1940), 283-304—hereafter referred to as *Rump Index*.

4. See Ian Jack, "Low Satire: *Hudibras*," *Augustan Satire: Intention and Idiom in English Poetry, 1660-1750* (Oxford, 1952), p. 21, n. 7; C. V. Wedgewood, *Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts* (Ann Arbor, 1964), pp. 130-131. Ward S. Miller in his article "The Allegory in Part 1 of *Hudibras*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXI (1958), 323-343, cites a number of Royalist political ballads, including one from *Rump*, to support his argument that *Hudibras* "is a personification of the Long Parliament" (p. 329) and that Part 1 of *Hudibras* is an intricate, if slightly inconsistent, historical allegory. Miller's reading of Part 1 as allegory, though perhaps too rigid, need not be disputed here. What should be acknowledged are Miller's helpful suggestions concerning Butler's use of metaphoric motifs drawn from *Rump* and other Royalist political verse, suggestions that need to be extended beyond the restricted context of Miller's argument. For example, Miller states that *Hudibras*' distorted physique, the "Pack Of his own Buttocks" (1.1.285-290) which the Knight bears as a "Burthen" on his back, "is an almost unmistakable reference to the responsibility that parliament assumed and the Rump that it became" (p. 331). That Butler is making an allusion to the Rump Parliament seems entirely plausible, but what should have been even more apparent to someone familiar with *Rump* satire is the natural body / body politic analogy implicit in much *Rump* wit. That is, just as the Rump Parliament, the remainder of the Long Parliament dissolved in 1653, became the *head* of English government in 1659, so *Hudibras*' buttocks-become-humped-back threaten to get "the upper- / Hand of his Head, for want of Crupper" (1.1.291-292). In other words, *Hudibras*' lower faculties threaten to gain control of his reason, just as the most irrational social element within England has gained control of the body politic. This is one of the main reasons that *Hudibras* is a living rump, a ready target for repeated violent abuse in his adventures.
5. This essay treats only a few poems in *Rump*, which is just one anthology of Royalist satiric verse. For a more extended discussion of Butler's use of the conventions of *Rump* satire in *Hudibras*, see my unpublished dissertation, "Violence in *Hudibras*: Wit, 'Hard Words,' and the *Rump*" (University of Pennsylvania, 1971). Much more bibliographical and critical work needs to be done with *Rump* and with Commonwealth political satire in general.
6. Wilders, pp. 452-454.
7. Wilders, p. 2 (Butler's note to 1.1.24).
8. *Rump*, II, 39; no author is named in the *Rump Index*.
9. An Alderman is a municipal officer ranking next to the mayor, formerly (and still in the city of London) representing a ward (*OED*). Committeemen were "appointed by Parliament for the sequestration and sale of lands owned by the Church and by royalist 'delinquents.' Many such committees were set up during the interregnum" (Wilders, Commentary, p. 324, n. 76). Both the offices of the alderman and committee-man were part of the Puritan-controlled government bureaucracy that Royalists came to detest.

10. Colonel Thomas Pride "set a guard round the entrances to the House of Commons, prevented many members from entering, and arrested others, in order to frustrate the intended agreement with the King" (Wilders, Commentary, p. 439, n. 1550). Pride is thus the "purging Colonel" who first created the Rump. Atkins is the purging Alderman who besmears his own Rump. (For more on Alderman Atkins, see "Mad Tom a Bedlams Desires of Peace," in *Political Ballads Published in England During the Commonwealth*, ed. Thomas Wright, Percy Society Publications, No. 3 [London, 1841], p. 102, stanza 2.) There is also an Alderman Abell who gained a rather large notoriety in Royalist satire around 1641; see Hyder F. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan* (New York, 1923), pp. 8, 9, and n. 7.
11. *Rump*, I, 299, stanzas 1-3.
12. Hudibras, it may be recalled, fights a virago named Trulla in the bearbaiting encounter in I.ii. and iii.
13. Cf. Broome's burlesque of improbability in romance in stanza 1 above with Butler's treatment of romances in II.i.1-44.
14. Cf. "'i' th' Cradle" / "'i' th' Saddle" from "*Upon Alderman Atkins . . .*" with Butler's:
 

Great on the Bench, Great in the Saddle,  
 That could as well bind o're, as swaddle:  
 (I.i.23-24)
15. *Rump*, I, 136, lines 1-12; no note is given in the *Rump Index*.
16. *Rump*, I, 137; cf. the satirist's use of the proverb "Shitten luck is good luck" to Hudibras II.ii.871-888, where the Knight decides that the assault on his person by dung-throwing villagers may presage good luck in his love suit. See also Wilders, Commentary, p. 389.
17. Johnson, I, 201, paragraph 28.

# A Note on Swift's *Meditation upon a Broom-Stick* and *A Tale of a Tub*

MAURICE JOHNSON\*

JONATHAN SWIFT's brief *Meditation upon a Broom-Stick* (1703 or 1704; published in 1710) is frequently reprinted but little studied. Critics have usually been content to take the work at face value as a parody of Robert Boyle. But particularly in light of verbal and thematic parallels to *A Tale of a Tub* (as well as the obvious relationship in time of composition), it seems worthwhile to examine the work's interwoven allusions, method, and point more closely.<sup>1</sup>

Just what is the *Meditation's* relation to Boyle? Although we now think of Robert Boyle in connection with the history of chemistry and the founding of the Royal Society, in Swift's time he was probably better known as the piously imaginative author of a series of *Occasional Reflections*. These essays tend to start from very simple sights or actions, and their titles are meant to be arrestingly descriptive: "Upon his manner of giving Meat to his Dogg"; "Upon his Paring of a rare Summer Apple"; "Upon the Sight of a fair Milkmaid singing to her Cow"; "Seeing a Child picking the Plums out of a piece of Cake his Mother had given him for his Breakfast." From such beginnings Boyle elaborates his observations in a self-consciously heightened style. And quite deliberately, he indulges in flights of fancy which may be likened to metaphysical conceits in poetry. Boyle himself writes in his introductory "Discourse Touching *Occasional Meditations*" that "the being able to find the latent resemblances betwixt things seemingly unlike, make[s] up a great part of what we are wont to call *Wit*."<sup>2</sup> An example of Boyle's wit in discovering such latent resemblances is his meditation "Upon the sight of some variously Colour'd Clouds," which begins: "There is amongst us a sort of vain and flanting *Grandees*, who for their own Unhappiness, and their Age's, do but too much resemble these painted Clouds. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Such "witty" meditations are usually brief.

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Thus in title, style, and form Swift's *Meditation* seems more nearly an imitation than a parody of Boyle's models. Even Swift's extravagant lopped-tree-and-broomstick theme is no more outrageous than Boyle's description of a gardener lopping branches from a fruit tree: "he falls upon and wounds it, with a sharp Iron, and strikes off several of its Youthful parts."<sup>4</sup> If Swift is mocking Boyle, it is more by adopting than by burlesquing his method.<sup>5</sup>

No doubt Swift's very different idea of the nature of wit allowed him to laugh at his Boyle-like theme—"SURELY MORTAL MAN IS A BROOMSTICK"—but for us to dwell on this distracts attention from more significant points. Unlike Boyle, Swift does not simply draw a salutary moral lesson from his conceit. Rather, he elaborates from it a searing indictment of man, like that in *A Tale of a Tub*. It is this surprising twist which both makes the piece a rhetorically wicked play on Boyle and at the same time puts it on an altogether different level of seriousness.

Casting assumptions aside, we should ask how the piece works. What happens? Obviously Swift's *Meditation* comprises three sharply distinguished parts of roughly equal length. The first describes the broomstick; the second draws a wry and witty parallel to man; and the third, set off by a new paragraph, extends the parallel in a new and radically more serious direction.

In the first section Swift's description is plausible enough, but he is cleverly setting up terms and phrases that he will want later.

This single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a Forest: It was full of Sap, full of Leaves, and full of Boughs: But now, in vain does the busy Art of Man pretend to vye with Nature, by tying that withered Bundle of Twigs to its sapless Trunk: It is now at best but the Reverse of what it was; a Tree turned upside down, the Branches on the Earth, and the Root in the Air: It is now handled by every dirty Wench, condemned to do her Drugery; and by a capricious Kind of Fate, destined to make other Things clean, and be nasty it self. At length, worn to the Stumps in the Service of the Maids, it is either thrown out of Doors, or condemned to its last Use of kindling a Fire.

"Corner," "Art"/"Nature," "withered," "Reverse," "sapless," "upside down," "dirty Wench," "clean," "worn to the Stumps," "thrown out of Doors," "kindling a Fire"—all will be needed shortly



in slightly different senses. Far-fetched though the similitude will be, Swift will strengthen it with a massive repetition of descriptive terms.

The second section introduces a fanciful parallel and a wry comment on man—wittier even than Boyle, but not so very different in kind.

When I beheld this, I sighed, and said within my self SURELY MORTAL MAN IS A BROOMSTICK; Nature sent him into the World strong and lusty, in a thriving Condition, wearing his own Hair on his Head, the proper Branches of this reasoning Vegetable; till the Axe [pun on “acts”?] of Intemperance has lopped off his Green Boughs, and left him a withered Trunk: He then flies to Art, and puts on a *Perriwig*; valuing himself upon an unnatural Bundle of Hairs, all covered with Powder, that never grew on his Head. . . .

The terms employed—“flourishing,” “withered,” “Bundle,” and especially “Trunk”—give a certain specious plausibility to the parallel of the tree turned into a broomstick and man deprived of his hair. But Swift does emphasize an important difference: man’s own “Intemperance” turns him into a “withered Trunk,” whereas the tree is scarcely responsible for its own diminution.

Both sections introduce an Art versus Nature theme. Here Art signifies a grotesque fall from what is natural and divinely sanctioned: it is artifice that falsifies. It is *un*-natural and degrading: “in vain does the busy Art of Man pretend to vye with Nature.” As in *A Tale of a Tub*, this is “an Art” foolishly conceived “to sodder and patch up the Flaws and Imperfections of Nature.”<sup>6</sup> The Art/Nature relationship is belabored notably in Section 1 of “The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit” accompanying the *Tale*.

Somewhat in Boyle’s fashion, Swift uses his parallel to make a straightforward moral point: why should artful man be prouder of his powdered wig than the broom of its dusty twigs?

But now, should this our *Broom-stick* pretend to enter the Scene, proud of those *Birchen* Spoils it never bore, and all covered with Dust, though the Sweepings of the finest Lady’s Chamber; we should be apt to ridicule and despise its Vanity.

So far so good. Swift has pushed his parallel a little harder than Boyle likes to, but from his witty trifling, he draws a solid moral:

"Partial Judges that we are of our own Excellencies, and other Mens Defaults!" This concludes the second part and could well be the end. Instead Swift takes off in quite a new direction. Brilliantly maintaining his parallel, and drawing heavily on it verbally, he simultaneously abandons mockery of fashion and embarks on a brutally sardonic anatomy of man which fairly seethes with controlled contempt:

But a *Broom-stick*, perhaps you will say, is an Emblem of a Tree standing on its Head; and pray what is Man but a topsy-turvy Creature? His Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational; his Head where his Heels should be, groveling on the Earth.

We are reminded again of *A Tale of a Tub*, among whose vexing cruxes is the passage in "A Digression on Madness" in which the narrator describes what happens "when a Man's Fancy gets *astride* on his Reason," and then, somewhat later, admits that he himself is a person "whose imaginations are . . . exceedingly disposed to run away with his *Reason* . . . a very light Rider, and easily shook off."<sup>7</sup> Should Reason be the rider or the ridden? The answer (which of course Swift does not provide openly in either work) is surely that the human faculties must maintain their proper order. The animal faculties (including fancy and the imagination) should stand above the vegetable faculties of the mere passions; and above both must stand the rational faculties—which are peculiar to man and link him to the divine.<sup>8</sup> Thus in *A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick*, as in *A Tale of a Tub*, man is anatomized in terms of disorder. Like the broomstick, man is a topsy-turvy creature: he is a reasoning vegetable with his "Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational," riding as they should not ride.

Abruptly there is an explosion of passion. Swift has cuttingly indicted man's mental disorder with his broomstick "Emblem" (used in its older sense of a picture with moral/allegorical significance). But Swift most condemns man here, as he was later to do in his greatest prose and poetry, not so much for the disorders themselves as for man's brazen pride in the face of them.

And yet, with all his Faults, he sets up to be a universal Reformer and Corrector of Abuses; a Remover of Grievances; rakes into every Slut's Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to the Light, and raiseth a

mighty Dust where there was none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same Pollutions he pretends to sweep away.

Notice here Swift's remarkable skill in maintaining his metaphor while drastically stretching its significance. Never abandoning his analogy with the broomstick ("Brother *Bezom*"), he plays tantalizingly with it, at times half-jokingly, as in his use of the idiom "raiseth a mighty Dust" for man's creating an unnecessary uproar. In the second section he played on the broom's *appearance*; here he plays on its *function*. The broom is "destined to make other Things *clean*, and be nasty it self" [italics added]; man "pretends to sweep away" "the very same Pollutions" he shares. Swift obviously finds deeply obnoxious man's pretense at universal reform and correction of abuses. He adds weight to his condemnation by explicitly suggesting that man's hypocritical campaign for purity takes the form of indulgence in sexual intercourse. In *A Tale of a Tub*, especially in "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," the deepest scorn is directed at reformers and enthusiastic preachers whose zeal is sexually manifested "in the Height and *Orgasmus* of their Spiritual exercise."<sup>9</sup> Such a man "rakes into every Slut's Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to the Light," which we may take to be venereal diseases.

This use of sexual allusion picks up and extends the groundwork of suggestive language prepared earlier in such words as "Root," "Sap," "Stumps," "kindling a Fire"; and in such company the term "Broom-stick" itself can hardly help but suggest the male member.<sup>10</sup> All this prepares for the radically nasty (but still apposite) conclusion.

His last Days are spent in Slavery to Women, and generally the least deserving; till worn to the Stumps, like his Brother *Bezom*, he is either kicked out of Doors, or made use of to kindle Flames for others to warm themselves by.

That is, exhausted by intemperance (a theme in the second part) in the service of sluts, man is cast aside, or forced to serve as a pimp. With striking skill, Swift is able to convey this conclusion in precisely the terms he had earlier employed in describing the end of the broom: "At length, *worn to the Stumps in the Service of the Maids*, it is either thrown out of Doors, or condemned to its last Use of kindling

a Fire” [italics added].<sup>11</sup> This open sexuality led in Swift’s lifetime to the *Meditation*’s being labeled “the most licentious buffoonery,”<sup>12</sup> the kind of epithet it shared with *A Tale of a Tub*. But as in other satirical writings, perhaps especially in the *Tale*, Swift deliberately tickles the reader’s risibilities while using sexual innuendoes to show just where our vegetable, animal, and rational faculties are most likely to be topsy-turvy. At the same time he is able to suggest in the second part that man’s sexuality, implicit in Nature, is rendered abominable and ultimately sad when it is flaunted with false Art.

It is intriguing to recognize that in his use of apposite sexual allusion here Swift is not only playing on Boyle’s concept of wit, but seems clearly to be ironically indulging himself in a mode he himself described in *A Tale of a Tub* as “that highly celebrated Talent among the *Modern Wits*, of deducing Similitudes, Allusions, and Applications very Surprising, Agreeable, and Apposite, from the *Pudenda* of either Sex. . . .”<sup>13</sup> The result is far more than an easy hit off the style and procedure of Robert Boyle. Rather, starting from his humorous observation of “latent resemblances” between man and an inverted tree, Swift introduces and interfuses serious themes—Art versus Nature, Animal versus Rational Faculties, Pride, and Sexuality—all in two tight-packed paragraphs of text. What starts as an amusing little parody disconcertingly becomes a serious satire which has not only outlasted Boyle’s “witty” meditations, but seems more deeply moral as well.

## NOTES

1. References will be to *A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick: According to the Style and Manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle’s Meditations*, in *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, 14 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1939–68), 1, 239–240. This version is based on George Faulkner’s 1735 Dublin printing. It differs, but not significantly, from Edmund Curll’s pirated London printing of 1710 and from the London printing in Swift’s *Miscellanies* of 1711, both in the Herman Teerink collection of Swift, University of Pennsylvania.
2. Robert Boyle, *Occasional Reflections upon several subjects, Wherein is premis’d A Discourse About such kind of Thoughts* (London: Herringman, 1665), p. 46, University of Pennsylvania copy, in the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Library. Boyle’s biographer tells us that he displayed “so copious and lively flow of wit”

- that Abraham Cowley and Sir William Davenant "both thought him equal in that respect to the most celebrated genius's of that age." See Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London: Millar, 1744), p. 291.
3. *Occasional Reflections*, section I, p. 241.
  4. "A Discourse Touching *Occasional Meditations*," in *Occasional Reflections*, p. 61.
  5. Samuel Butler's earlier ridicule of Boyle in "An Occasional Reflection on Dr. Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulse at Gresham-College. By R. B. Esq.," may be read in *Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, ed. René Lamar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), pp. 341-343.
  6. Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, 2nd ed., ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 174.
  7. *A Tale of a Tub*, pp. 171, 180.
  8. See Robert Burton, "Anatomy of the Soul," *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3 vols. (London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1932), I, 154-165.
  9. *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 288.
  10. John S. Farmer lists "BROOM 2. (harlotry.)—The female *pudenda*. The male *penis* is the BROOMSTICK": *Slang and Its Analogues Past and Present* (London: privately printed, 1890).
  11. For the highly suggestive phrase "worn to the stumps" and a generally interesting parallel, see Berkeley's *Alciphron* (1732), ii.17: "This man of pleasure, when, after a wretched scene of vanity and woe, his animal nature is worn to the stumps, wishes and dreads death by turns. . . . He has the honour of pimping for the vices of more sprightly men, who in return offer some small incense to his vanity. . . . and . . . he employs himself in justifying those excesses he cannot partake in." *The Works of George Berkeley*, ed. A. C. Fraser, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), II, 99. For this parallel I am indebted to Robert D. Hume.
  12. Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, p. 148.
  13. *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 147. The suggestive emblem of the broomstick itself is introduced into *A Tale of a Tub* when Peter, the erudite brother, announces that "the same Word which in the Will is called *Fringe*, does also signifie a *Broom-stick*," to be worn emblematically on one's coat; Peter explains that "this Epithet was understood in a *Mythological*, and *Allegorical Sense*" (p. 88). Curll's *Key* (1710) quite properly notes that when fringe is meant to signify a broomstick, it is an abuse of "the Distinctions of a literate and figurative Sense" (in *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 335).



# Introductory Lectures in Nineteenth-Century American Chemistry Courses

WYNDHAM D. MILES\*

IF you could drift backward into an American chemistry laboratory of the 1850's, you would see a chemist in a long wrapper of baize or linsey, resembling a frock coat, with a cap crowning his head. Along the walls, shelves would be lined with handblown glass bottles—cheap green bottles from New Jersey, white lead-free bottles from Philadelphia, and elegant costly imported bottles from Bohemia. Small apparatus and a spirit lamp or an Argand burner would be set up atop a walnut or cherry laboratory desk, while large apparatus and a still would be on a large squarish table. In the bookcase might be Hare's *Compendium*, Silliman's *Journal*, Berzelius' *Jahrbuch*, Dumas' *Chimie appliquée aux arts*, and perhaps a pamphlet entitled *Introductory Lecture on Chemistry*.

An Introductory Lecture was the first lecture that a teacher delivered to his incoming class at the beginning of a school year, but delivered with more ceremony than we are accustomed to today. Formal opening lectures were in vogue for several decades in the early nineteenth century, and many found their way into print. Some teachers published their introductory lectures, but often the class, as a mark of respect, undertook publication. Publication of introductory lectures was done usually by classes in medical schools rather than by undergraduates in colleges, possibly because medical students were older, more mature, and better able to finance and bring out pamphlets. Hundreds of introductory lectures on many subjects were issued in the United States during the nineteenth century and at least fifty of these had to do with chemistry.

There was no uniform pattern for introductory lectures. If a professor reasoned that the majority of his students had never before attended a chemical lecture, which was often the case, he might tell the class what the science was about. Another professor might spend

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most of the lecture pointing out the usefulness of chemistry to medicine or to industry. Another might take time to explain his method of teaching. Another might indulge his favorite pastime, as did John William Draper, noted as a historian as well as a chemist, who gave his class a lecture on the history of science. Another might talk about current work in science, as did Robert Hare, probably leaving his beginning students far behind. If a teacher favored the oratorical style of speaking he might quote poetry, as Ezra Carr did thirteen times. If he were religious he might choose a topic somewhat like Lunsford Pitts Yandell who spoke on "Chemistry, as affording evidence of the Wisdom of God." Another teacher might simply look upon the first lecture without any feeling of sentiment and plunge directly into the subject. But whatever the teacher had in mind and told his class, these introductory essays make interesting reading.

The publication of an introductory lecture often started with students holding a meeting and selecting a committee to oversee the job. The committee composed a letter to the professor, such as that which went to Robert Hare of the University of Pennsylvania in 1843:

Sir, — At a meeting of the Medical Class, convened on the 14th inst., the undersigned were appointed a Committee to wait on you for the purpose of requesting for publication a copy of your able and highly interesting Introductory Address, delivered on the 7th inst. By complying with our wishes, you will add another to the numerous testimonials of your kindness, for which, in the name of the Class, we tender you our grateful acknowledgments.

Your friends and pupils . . .

The professor thereupon replied, somewhat as Hare did to the above letter:

My dear Friends and Pupils:

I have to make my acknowledgments for your friendly note of the 15th inst., informing me of your having been appointed, at a meeting of the Medical Class in the University, to request, for publication, a copy of my Introductory Address, delivered before them on the 7th inst. Being gratified by the favorable impression which had given rise to this request, it will give me pleasure to send you the copy requested for the object in

view, though aware that those impressions may owe their existence to the partiality of the judges, rather than the merits of the performance.

I am, Gentlemen, with regard,

Your Friend,

Robert Hare

The committee then took the manuscript to a printer, had it done up as a pamphlet of some twenty to thirty pages, and distributed copies to the class and faculty.

Below is a list of introductory lectures on chemistry. These lectures are rare. Probably no more than a few hundred of each were printed, they were issued as flimsy pamphlets, and the contents were ephemeral in nature. Most of them were thrown away years ago, or have been destroyed by the ravages of time. During a period of twenty-five years as a book collector I have found only ten copies, and I know of three other chemists who have several. Our largest university and public libraries have only a few introductory lectures on chemistry. The famous Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection in the History of Chemistry of the University of Pennsylvania has only seven.

The custom of printing introductory chemistry lectures faded away after the Civil War. Whether it was owing to gradual changes in higher education, in the character of the student body, or in our culture, or to the cataclysmic changes brought about by four years of war, we have no way of knowing. The custom disappeared, but it left behind interesting reminders of a bygone day in chemical education.

ANTISELL, THOMAS. Antisell, 1817-93, taught chemistry at Berkshire Medical Institution and Woodstock Medical College, was geologist for the Pacific railroad survey, examiner in the Patent Office, surgeon in the Civil War, chemist for Department of Agriculture, and consultant for the Japanese government.

*Address, introductory to the course of lectures in the chemical department of the Vermont Medical College. Delivered before the class of session 1854. (Woodstock, 1854.) 24 pp.*

ATLEE, WASHINGTON LEMUEL. Atlee, 1808-78, was professor of chemistry in the medical department of Pennsylvania College for many years, but is best known as a pioneer surgeon in the field of ovariectomy.

*Lecture, introductory to the course of medical chemistry in the medical de-*

partment of Pennsylvania College, Philadelphia, for the session 1844-45. (Philadelphia, 1844.) 16 pp.

*The chemical relations of the human body with surrounding agents. A lecture introductory to a course on medical chemistry in the medical department of Pennsylvania College, for the session of 1845-46.* (Philadelphia, 1845). 16 pp.

BACHE, FRANKLIN. Bache, 1792-1864, great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, edited three chemistry texts and taught chemistry at Jefferson Medical College.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry delivered in Jefferson Medical College, November 3, 1841.* (Philadelphia, 1841.) 16 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, in Jefferson Medical College, delivered November 6, 1843.* (Philadelphia, 1843.) 25 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, delivered in Jefferson Medical College, November 6, 1844.* (Philadelphia, 1844.) 24 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, delivered in Jefferson Medical College, October 18, 1848.* (Philadelphia, 1848.) 20 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, delivered in Jefferson Medical College, October 16, 1849.* (Philadelphia, 1849.) 20 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, delivered in Jefferson Medical College, October 13, 1852.* (Philadelphia, 1852.) 16 pp.

BACON, JOHN. Bacon, 1817-81, microscopist and chemist, taught chemistry in the Harvard Medical School from 1857 to 1871.

*Introductory address, delivered to the medical class of Harvard University, Wednesday, November 3, 1858.* (Boston, 1858.) 19 pp. (Reprinted from *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 59 [1858-59], 289-302.)

BROWN, JOSEPH.

*Introductory lecture on chemistry, delivered to the class in the Botanico-Medical College.* (1845.) 11 pp.

CARR, EZRA S. Carr, 1819-94, was a roving professor of chemistry who taught at Castleton Medical (Vermont), Albany Medical (New York), Philadelphia College of Medicine, University of Wisconsin, Rush Medical (Chicago), and University of California.

*An introductory lecture, delivered in the Castleton Medical College at the opening of the fall session.* (Albany, 1843.) 20 pp.

COOPER, THOMAS. Cooper, 1759-1840, a close friend of Joseph Priestley, was a federal judge, and a professor of chemistry at Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania, and University of South Carolina. He wrote books on cooking, gas lights, dyeing, and law.

*The introductory lecture of Thomas Cooper, Esq., Professor of Chemistry*

at Carlisle College, Pennsylvania. Published at the request of the trustees. With notes and references. (Carlisle, 1812.) 236 pp.

*Introductory lecture on chemistry delivered at the College of South Carolina, in Columbia, January 1820.* (Columbia, 1820.) 15 pp.

DRAPER, JOHN WILLIAM. Draper, 1811–82, taught at William and Mary, Hampden-Sydney, and New York University; made the first daguerreotype of a person, and wrote a number of books on history.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry, University of New York, medical department.* (New York, 1841.) 15 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry on the relations of atmospheric air to animals and plants, New York University medical department. Session 1844–45.* (New York, 1844–45.) 16 pp.

*Introductory lecture to the course of chemistry on the relations and nature of water.* (New York, 1845–46.) 15 pp.

*An introductory lecture on the history of chemistry, delivered in the University of New York. Session 1846–47.* (New York, 1846–47.) 15 pp.

*An introductory lecture on phosphorous.* (New York, 1847.) 14 pp.

*An introductory lecture on oxygen gas.* (New York, 1848.) 15 pp.

*The influence of physical agents on life: being an introductory lecture to the course on Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York.* (New York, 1850.) 14 pp.

FISHER, WILLIAM R. Fisher, 1808–42, a pharmacist, botanist, and chemist, taught chemistry at Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

*Introductory lecture, delivered in the chemical hall of the University of Maryland, October 31, 1837.* (Philadelphia, 1837.) 24 pp. (Reprinted from *American Journal of Pharmacy*, N.S. 3 [1837–38], 269–290.)

*Introductory lecture, delivered at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.* (Philadelphia, 1842.) 21 pp.

GARDNER, DIONYSIUS P. Gardner taught chemistry at Hampden-Sydney College and Philadelphia Medical College, and wrote a chemistry text and a medical dictionary.

*An introductory lecture on the relations of chemistry to the vital force, delivered in the Philadelphia College of Medicine. Session of 1847–48.* (Philadelphia, 1847.) 11 pp.

*An introductory lecture on the chemical relations of plants to animals.* (Philadelphia, 1848.) 18 pp.

GREEN, JACOB. Green, 1790–1841, taught at Princeton and at Jefferson Medical College, and wrote several books on science.

*Advantages of chemistry: or, an introductory address, delivered in the chem-*

*ical theatre of Jefferson Medical College, at the opening of the session of 1834-35. (Philadelphia, 1834.) 30 pp.*

HARE, ROBERT. Hare, 1781-1858, invented the oxy-hydrogen blow-torch, wrote several works on chemistry, and taught at William and Mary and at the University of Pennsylvania.

*Lecture, introductory to a course on chemistry, in the University of Pennsylvania. Delivered November 7, 1843. (Philadelphia, 1843.) 21 pp.*

JACKSON, SAMUEL. Jackson, 1787-1872, taught chemistry in the Philadelphia Medical Institute, and was professor of the institutes of medicine at University of Pennsylvania, 1825-63.

*On the fundamental laws of the organic molecular action of the animal organism, identical with those of rational mechanics. An introductory lecture. (Philadelphia, 1856.) 20 pp.*

JOHNSON, WALTER R. Johnson, 1794-1852, was professor of chemistry at Pennsylvania Medical College, a consultant for the government, and a founder of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

*Lecture introductory to a course on chemistry and natural philosophy in the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College. (Philadelphia, 1840.) 24 pp.*

LOCKE, JOHN. Locke, 1792-1856, botanist, geologist, and inventor, was professor of chemistry at Medical College of Ohio.

*An introductory lecture on chemistry and geology, delivered November 6, 1838, before the class of the Medical College of Ohio. (Cincinnati, 1839.) 18 pp.*

MACNEVEN, WILLIAM JAMES. MacNeven, 1763-1841, taught chemistry, medicine, and natural history at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, and edited a chemical text.

*Introductory discourse to a few lectures on the application of chemistry to agriculture, delivered before the New York Athenaeum. (New York, 1825.) 40 pp.*

MITCHELL, JOHN KEARSLEY. Mitchell, 1793-1858, taught chemistry at Philadelphia Medical Institute and Franklin Institute, and also taught medicine.

*The Wisdom of God, as displayed in the formation of water; an introductory lecture to a course of chemistry applied to the arts, during the winter session of 1833-34 of the Franklin Institute. (Philadelphia, 1833.) 11 pp.*

MITCHELL, THOMAS DUCHÉ. Mitchell, 1791-1865, taught chemistry at Miami University, Medical College of Ohio, Medical Institute of



Louisville, and Transylvania University, and wrote two texts on chemistry.

*A cursory view of the history of chemical science, and some of its more important uses to the physician; being an introductory to the course of lectures for the session 1837-38.* (Lexington, Ky., 1837.) 22 pp.

REESE, JOHN JAMES. Reese, 1818-92, was an authority and writer on toxicology and forensic medicine.

*Chemistry: its importance to the physician. An introductory to the course of lectures on medical chemistry and pharmacy in the medical department of Pennsylvania College.* (Philadelphia, 1852.) 27 pp.

SADTLER, SAMUEL PHILIP. Sadtler, 1847-1923, was professor of chemistry at Gettysburg College, University of Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, a well-known consultant, and an author of several books. His lecture, below, came late in the period, when introductory lectures were dying out.

*Has the study of organic chemistry a practical value for pharmacists? Introductory lecture of the course of 1879-80, in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, delivered October 1st, 1879.* (Philadelphia, 1879.) 8 pp. (Reprinted from *American Journal of Pharmacy*, November 1879.)

SILLIMAN, BENJAMIN. Silliman, 1779-1864, taught chemistry at Yale for half a century, and founded the *American Journal of Science and Arts*.\*

*An introductory lecture delivered in the laboratory of Yale College, October 1828.* (New Haven, 1828.) 48 pp.

STEINER, LEWIS HENRY. Steiner, 1827-92, taught chemistry at Maryland College of Pharmacy, Maryland Institute, George Washington University, and Baltimore Medical Institute.

*Lecture, introductory to the course on chemistry and pharmacy in the National Medical College, Washington, D.C.* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1853.)

21 pp.

*Paracelsus and his influence on chemistry and medicine.* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1853.) 18 pp. (Introductory lecture at the Baltimore Medical Institute, opening of spring and summer session, April 5, 1853.)

TUCKER, WILLIS G. Tucker, 1849-1922, was director of the laboratory of the New York State board of health, and taught chemistry at Albany Medical College and Albany College of Pharmacy.

*Organic chemistry and therapeutics. The introductory lectures to the course of 1875 at the Albany Medical College.* (Albany, 1875.) 19 pp.



YANDELL, LUNSFORD PITTS. Yandell, 1805-78, physician, clergyman, paleontologist, was professor of chemistry at Transylvania University and University of Louisville.

*An introductory lecture on the advantages and pleasures of the study of chemistry.* (Lexington, Ky., 1831.) 26 pp. (Reprinted from *Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associate Sciences*, 4 [1831], 465-490.)

*Chemistry as affording evidence of the Wisdom of God. An introductory lecture.* (Lexington, Ky., 1835.) 27 pp. (Reprinted from *Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associate Sciences*, 8 [1835], 1-34.)

\* After 1879 shortened to *American Journal of Science*.

## NOTE

A number of introductory lectures were published in journals and did not, to the best of my knowledge, ever appear in separate form. Three examples are:

John L. Riddell, "The chemistry, physics, and vitality of organic cells. Introductory lecture, November 16, 1852, Medical College, University of Louisiana." *New Orleans Medical Journal*, 9 (1852-53), 458-470.

I. L. Crawcour, "Introductory lecture." *New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette*, 5 (1858-59), 673-687.

Henri Erni, "The influence of light upon organization: an introductory lecture, delivered Oct. 3d, 1860" [at Shelby Medical College, Tennessee]. *Nashville Medical Record*, 3 (1860), 19-25.

# Library Notes

## *Various Gifts*

MR. RICHARD W. FOSTER—Charles Key Ogden and Ivor Armstrong Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 5th edition. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927.

MISS GABRIELE GUTKIND—Collection of materials on Scandinavian urban development.

DR. GUY MARRINER—Music, scores, and records.

DIRECCION GENERAL DE ESTADISTICA, MEXICO—VIII Mexico Censo General de Población.

MR. WILLIAM HANNIS PEROT—Arthur Edwin Byc, *Magna Charta, King John and the Barons*. Bridgeport, Pa., Chancellor Press, 1966.

PHILADELPHIA ZIONIST ORGANIZATION—

Trial subscription to the *American Zionist*.

Raphael Patai, *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (first two volumes). New York, McGraw-Hill, 1971- .

Joseph B. Schechtman, *The United States and the Jewish State Movement*. New York, Herzl Press, 1966.

DR. GEORGE BRANDON SAUL—

The following books of the donor's authorship:

*Candlelight Rhymes for Early-to-Beds*. Philadelphia, Walton Press, 1970.

*Liadain and Curithir, a Medieval Irish Love Story, and Four Tales from the Elf-Mounds*. Philadelphia, Walton Press, 1970.

*In Mountain Shadow*. Philadelphia, Walton Press, 1970.

*Postscript to Hound and Unicorn*. Philadelphia, Walton Press, 1970.

*Advice to the Emotionally Perturbed*. Philadelphia, Walton Press, 1971.

Seumas O'Kelly. Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1971.

Also: by Seumas O'Kelly, *The Shuiler's Child*. Chicago, De Paul University, 1971. The introduction to this book is by Dr. Saul.

MR. GEORGE SELDES—Collection of literary documents and letters.

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J. M. G.









